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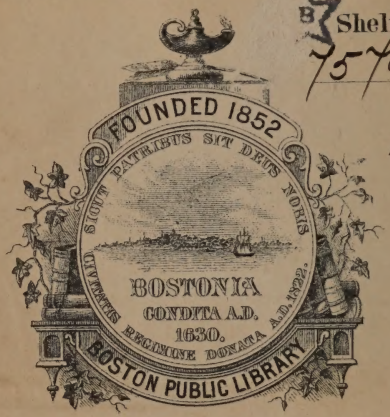

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INQUIRY

INTO THE

CHARACTER AND TENDENCY

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION,

AND

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY

SOCIETIES.

BY WILLIAM JAY.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to my conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

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ERRATA.

Page 13, fourteenth line, for "means" read *deed.*
" 32, fourth line, for "perpetuate" read *perpetrate.*
" 116, twenty-first line, for "slave holder" read *slave trader.*
" 142, twenty-sixth line, for "admitted" read *adduced.*

PREFACE.

No allusion has been made, in the following pages, to certain popular objections to the Colonization Society; nor have any cases of individual cruelty been cited, to illustrate the evils of slavery. It is proper, that the reasons for this departure from the ordinary mode of discussing these two subjects, should be given, that they may not be misunderstood.

The objections I have omitted to notice, are, the mortality to which the emigrants are exposed, in consequence of the climate of Liberia; the demoralizing traffick, which the colonists have carried on with the natives, in rum and military stores; and the improvident application of the funds of the Society, which has rendered it bankrupt.

These objections, serious as they are in themselves, are not inseparable from the system of Colonization. Another, and more salubrious site, may be selected; the traffick complained of, may be discontinued, and the fiscal affairs of the Society, may hereafter be managed with prudence and economy. But there are inherent evils in the system, and it is important that the public attention should not be diverted from these evils, by the contemplation of others, which are only accidental.

So, also, it is of great importance, that the sinfulness of slavery, should not be merged in that of its unauthorized abuses. Many contend for the lawfulness of slavery, who readily admit the sinfulness of insulated cases of cruelty. It has, therefore, been my object to show, that, admitting the slaves to be treated as a prudent farmer treats his cattle—that they have enough to

eat—are sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, and are not subjected to a greater degree of severity than is necessary, to extort from them a due amount of labor—American slavery is, nevertheless, a heinous sin, and, like every other sin, ought to be immediately abandoned.

February, 1835.

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PART I.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

INTRODUCTION.

On the 1st of January, 1835, there were in the United States, 2,245,144 slaves.* This number about equals the population of Holland, and exceeds that of Scotland, of the Danish Dominions, of the Swiss Confederation, and of various Republics in South America. These millions of human beings, are held as chattels by a people professing to acknowledge, that "all men are created equal, and endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness:"—they are, moreover, kept in ignorance, and compelled to live without God, and to die without hope, by a people professing to reverence the obligations of Christianity.

But slavery has ceased in other countries, where it formerly prevailed; and may we not hope that it is gradually expiring in this? An answer may be found in the following statement of our slave population, at different periods:

United States,	1790,	697,697	1835,	2,345,144
Kentucky,	do.	12,430	1830,	165,350
Mississippi and Alabama,	1800,	3,489	do.	182,953
Louisiana,	1810,	34,660	do.	109,631
Missouri,	do.	3,011	do.	24,990

Perhaps, however, the *political* evils of slavery may be gradually mitigated, and finally removed, by an increas-

* According to the ratio of increase between 1820 and 1830.

ing preponderance in the white population. A comparison of the census of 1830, with that of 1820, affords us the following ratio of increase in the free and slave population, for the intermediate ten years:

	Free	*Slave*
N. Carolina,	13.4 per ct.	20.2 per ct.
S. Carolina,	8.7	22.1
Alabama,	124.	180.4
Mississippi,	66.8	100.1
Louisiana,	25.6	58.7
Missouri,	104.3	144.7
Tennessee,	59.5	77.7
Kentucky,	19.6	30.4
Arkansas Territory,	104.3	180.

It is obvious, from these details, that, if the present system be continued, the time cannot be far distant, when the slaves will possess a frightful numerical superiority over their masters. Already do they bear to the whites, in the slave States and Territories, the proportion of 1, to 2.79, or more than one-third. In South-Carolina, and Louisiana, they are now a majority.

But in our contemplation of slavery, the sufferings of the slaves claim our consideration, no less than the dangers to which the whites are exposed. The ordinary evils of slavery are in this country greatly aggravated, by a cruel and extensive slave trade. Various circumstances have of late years combined, to lessen the demand for slave labor in the more northern, and to increase it in the more southern and western portions of the slave region; while the enlarged consumption of sugar and cotton is enhancing the market value of slaves. The most profitable employment of this species of labor, is unfortunately found in those States, which, from their recent settlement, possess immense tracts which are still to be brought into cultivation, and in which, consequently, there now is, and will long continue to be, an urgent demand for slaves. Hence has arisen a prodigious and annually increasing transportation of slaves to the south and west.

There are no official data, from which the amount of this transportation can be ascertained; but from facts that have transpired, and from estimates made at the *South*,

there is reason to believe that it exceeds 30,000 a year! One of the peculiar abominations of this trade is, that its victims are almost exclusively children and youths. Instead of removing whole families and gangs of negroes, the dealers for the most part, according to their own advertisements, select individuals "of both sexes, from twelve to twenty-five years."

He surely can have little claim to the character of a patriot, or a Christian, who does not desire, that his country may be delivered from the sin and curse of slavery; or who refuses even to consider the means proposed for effecting this great object.

A powerful institution is now in operation, which professes to be, not merely a remedy for slavery, but the ONLY remedy that can be devised. It appeals to religion and patriotism, for those pecuniary aids, which, it contends, are alone wanting, to enable it to transport our whole colored population to Africa, there to enjoy the freedom denied to them here; and there to become the dispensers of religion, and the arts and sciences, to that benighted continent.

If the claims of the American Colonization Society are founded in truth, they cannot be resisted without guilt. Very many, however, who are alike distinguished for piety and talents, instead of allowing these claims, strenuously maintain, that the *practical tendency* of the Society, is to perpetuate the evils it professes to remove; and to extend to Africa, the vices, but not the blessings of civilization. These conflicting opinions, on a subject so momentous, demand a calm and patient investigation; since he who either supports or opposes the Colonization Society, without first ascertaining its true character, the results it has produced, and the influence it exerts, incurs the hazard, as far as his example and efforts extend, of increasing the wretchedness he would relieve; and of fastening upon his country, the burden under which she is struggling.

If, in a question, involving the temporal and eternal happiness of unborn millions, we could satisfy our consciences, by bowing to the authority of great names, we would still be painfully embarrassed in selecting those, to whose decision we would surrender our own judgments.

The excellent of the earth, are to be found among the friends and enemies of this association; and if various ecclesiastical bodies in our own country, have recommended it to the patronage of their churches, it is regarded with abhorrence by almost the whole religious community of Great Britain; and the last effort made by WILBERFORCE, in the great cause of negro liberty, was, to enter his solemn protest against the doctrines and conduct of the American Colonization Society.

This Institution may have been formed by good men, and from the purest motives, yet it is possible, that its operation may not have been such as they anticipated. "So many unforeseen, concealed, and inappreciable causes," says a very eminent writer, "have an influence on human institutions, that it is impossible to judge *a priori* of their effects. Nothing but a long series of experiments, can unfold these effects, and point out the means of counteracting those that are hurtful."

The following inquiry has been commenced, and pursued, under a deep sense of the importance of the subject, and with a solemn recollection, that no deviation from truth, can escape the notice and displeasure of HIM, unto whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid.

CHAPTER I.

Origin, Constitution and character of the American Colonization Society.

On the 23d December, 1816, the Legislature of Virginia passed a resolution requesting the Governor to correspond with the President of the United States, "for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States, or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth."

Within a few days of the date of this resolution, a meeting was held at Washington to take this very subject into consideration. It was composed almost entirely of southern gentlemen. Judge Washington presided; Mr. Clay, Mr. Randolph, and others took part in the discussions which ensued, and which resulted in the organization of the American Colonization Society. Judge Washington was chosen President, and of the seventeen Vice-Presidents, only five were selected from the free States, while the twelve managers were, it is believed, without one exception, slave-holders.

The two first articles of the constitution are the only ones relating to the object of the Society. They are as follows:

Art. I. This Society shall be called the American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States.

Art. II. The object to which its attention is to be *exclusively* directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in

our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the general government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

It is worthy of remark, that this constitution has no preamble setting forth the motives which led to its adoption, and the sentiments entertained by its authors. There is no one single principle of duty or policy recognized by the constitution, and the members may, without inconsistency, be composed of Christians or of Infidels: they may be the friends or enemies of slavery, and may be actuated by kindness or by hatred towards "the free people of color."

The omission of all avowal of *motives* was, probably, not without design, and has not been without effect. It has secured the co-operation of three distinct classes. First, such as sincerely desire to afford the free blacks an asylum from the oppression they suffer here, and by their means to extend to Africa the blessings of Christianity and civilization, and who at the same time flatter themselves that colonization will have a salutary influence in accelerating the abolition of slavery: Secondly, such as expect to enhance the value and security of slave property, by removing the free blacks: And, thirdly, such as seek relief from a bad population, without the trouble and expense of improving it.

The doors of the Society being thrown open to all, a heterogeneous multitude has entered, and within its portals men are brought into contact, who, in the ordinary walks of life, are separated by a common repulsion. The devoted missionary, ready to pour out his life on the sands of Africa, is jostled by the trafficker in human flesh; the humble, self-denying Christian listens to the praises of the Society from the unblushing profligate, and the friend of human rights and human happiness greets as his fellow-laborer the man whose very contribution to the cause is extorted from the unrequited labor of his fellow men. This anomalous amalgamation of characters and motives has necessarily led to a lamentable compromise of principle. Whatever may be the object each member proposes to himself, he is conscious it can be effected only by the harmonious co-operation of all the other members. Hence it is all important to avoid giving and taking offence;

and never was the maxim, "bear and forbear," more scrupulously obeyed. Certain irreconcileable opinions, but regarded by their holders as fundamental, are by common consent wholly suppressed, while in matters of less importance, the expression of opposite sentiments is freely allowed, and borne with commendable patience.

The advocates of slavery forbear shocking its opponents by justifying it in the *abstract*, and in return for this complaisance those opponents forbear condemning it in *particulars*. Each party consents to make certain concessions to conciliate the other. The Southron admits slavery to be a *political* evil; the northern member courteously replies, that under *present circumstances*, it is unavoidable, and therefore justifiable. The actual condition of the slave, his mental bondage, his bodily sufferings are understood to be forbidden topics.

The oppressor of the free negro dwells on his depravity and degradation: the friend of the free negro admits and often aggravates the charges against him, but carefully abstains from all allusion to the true causes of that depravity and degradation, unless to excuse them as being inevitable. Both parties unite in depicting in glowing colors, the effects of the oppression of the free negro in order to prove the *humanity* of banishing him from the country; while both refrain from all attempts to remove or lessen the oppression.

The simplicity of the object of the Society as stated in its constitution, tends in a powerful degree to encourage and enforce this compromise of principle. The constitution in fact vests a discretionary veto in every member on the expression of unpalatable opinions. The attention of the Society is to be "exclusively" directed to the colonization of persons of color, and the constitution contains no allusion to slavery. Hence any denunciation of slavery as sinful,* any arguments addressed to slave holders to induce

* Candor requires the admission that there is at least one exception to this remark. At the annual meeting of the Society in 1834, the Rev. Mr. Breckenridge in his speech insisted on the sinfulness of slavery. A distinguished lay member of the Society who was present complained to the author of Mr. B.'s unconstitutional conduct, and declared that he was strongly tempted publicly to call him to order.

them to manumit their slaves, would be unconstitutional, and are therefore carefully avoided. But the free blacks cannot be transported without money, and much money cannot be had, without the aid of the enemies of slavery. It is therefore permitted to represent the Society as an antidote to slavery, as tending to affect its abolition, any thing in the constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. But then this abolition is to be brought about at some future indefinite period. True it is, that the constitution is as silent, with respect to manumission, as it is to slavery; but by common consent, this silence is not permitted to interpose the slightest obstacle to a unanimous, vigorous and persevering opposition to present manumission. Were the American Bible Society to deprecate the emancipation of slaves, and to censure all who proposed it, the outrage would excite the indignation of the whole community. But what would be a perversion of its avowed object in a Bible Society is perfectly lawful in the Colonization Society, not because it is authorized by the constitution, but because it is *expedient* to conciliate the slave holders.

Many of the supporters of the Society are interested in the *American* slave trade*—a trade replete with cruelty and injustice. To condemn *this* trade, or to labor for its suppression, would be unconstitutional. The *African* slave trade rather interferes with, than promotes the interests of the slave owners, and the Society deem it unnecessary to seek for any constitutional warrant to justify the most violent denunciation of the *foreign* traffick ; or an application to foreign powers to declare it piratical.†

To hold up the free blacks to the detestation of the community, is constitutional—to recommend them to the sympathy of Christians, to propose schools for their instruction, plans for encouraging their industry, and efforts for their moral and religious improvement, would be such a flagrant departure from the "exclusive" object of the Society, that no member has hitherto been rash enough to make the attempt. At the same time it is quite constitutional to vindicate the cruel laws which are crushing these people

*The first President of the Society, was, as we shall see hereafter, no inconsiderable dealer.

† See proceedings of Am. Col. Society of 20th January, 1827.

in the dust, and to show that the oppression they suffer is "an ordination of Providence."

The constitution indeed, forbids the transportation of the free blacks without "their consent;" but it is very constitutional to justify and encourage such oppression of them, as shall compel them to seek in the wilds of Africa, a refuge from American cruelty.

The natural result of this compromise of principle, this suppression of truth, this sacrifice to unanimity, has been the adoption of *expediency* as the standard of right and wrong, in the place of the revealed will of God. Unmindful of the poet's precept

> Be virtuous ends pursued by virtuous means,
> Nor think the intention sanctifies the means,

good men, and good Christians have been tempted by their zeal for the Society to countenance opinions and practices inconsistant with justice and humanity. Confident that their motives were good, and their object important, they have been too little scrupulous of the means they employed; and hence the Society has actually exerted a demoralizing influence over its own members, by leading them occasionally to advance in its behalf opinions at variance with truth and Christianity. Unhappily the evil influence of the Society has not been confined to its own members. It has to a lamentable extent, vitiated the moral sense of the community, by reconciling public opinion to the continuance of slavery, and by aggravating those sinful prejudices against the free blacks, which are subjecting them to insult and persecution, and denying them the blessings of education and religious instruction.

We are sensible that these are grave assertions, and that many will deem them very extraordinary ones. The reader's belief is not solicited for them *at present*, nor will it be to any assertion hereafter made, till supported by unquestionable evidence. The remarks in this chapter are intended only as a general statement of the case against the Society, and as an explanation of the process by which many excellent men belonging to it, have insensibly been seduced into conduct of at least doubtful morality. The charges now made will in due time be substantiated by

authentic facts, and by quotations from the language both official and private, of members of the Society.

True it is, that Colonizationists protest most earnestly against being judged by any, but the official language of the Board of Managers. To the justice of this protest, it is impossible to assent. The Society is arraigned at the bar of the public, *not for the object avowed in the constitution*, but for the influence it exerts in vindicating and prolonging slavery, and in augmenting the oppression of the free blacks. This influence, if exerted at all, must be exerted by individuals in the capacity of members, agents, and officers of the Society, and the only means they possess of exerting this influence, is by the expression of their sentiments. To insist, therefore, that these sentiments may not be quoted, to show what influence the Society does exert, is to contradict the plainest suggestions of common sense. Certainly the whole Society is not necessarily responsible for the sentiments of a single member; but the question is not, whether one or two or more members have said improper things, but whether the influence *generally* exerted by the Society, is what it is alleged to be; and this is a question of fact, to be decided by evidence, and that evidence necessarily consists of the opinions expressed by its officers, agents, and distinguished members, and auxiliary associations.

This protest moreover comes with an ill grace from a Society that has appealed to the *letters* and the *speeches* of its members, to repel the objection urged against it in certain quarters, of a desire to interfere with the rights of slave-holders.* Should the members and officers of an Anti-Slavery Society, continually at its public meetings, deliver addresses in favor of intermarriages between whites and blacks—should auxiliaries pass resolutions approving of such marriages—should these addresses and resolutions be published and circulated at the expense of the Society, and should its official magazine recommend such marriages, would it not be the excess of disingenuousness, for the Society to attempt to repel the charge that its influence was exerted to bring about an amalgamation of the two

* See Af. Rep. VI. 198.

races, by denying that it was responsible for the language of its members, and by appealing to its constitution and official reports, in which no allusion was made to the subject? All that can fairly be demanded, is that the quotations be honestly made, and that they be sufficiently numerous and explicit, to establish the facts they are brought to prove. In the following pages will be found numerous extracts from Colonization documents; and it is right to observe, that they are for the most part, merely *selections*, and bearing generally but a small proportion to the whole number of extracts to the same point that might have been adduced. Some few of the extracts have been made by other writers; but the great mass of them have been selected by the author, and in no instance has he given a quotation which he does not believe is fairly and honestly made. To prevent mistakes it may be well to mention, that the African Repository is a monthly magazine, and is, as appears from the title page, "published by order of the Managers of the American Colonization Society." The Editor is understood to be the Secretary of the Society. This periodical, together with the annual reports, and occasional official addresses, are the *only* publications for which the managers of the Society are responsible: when *Colonization* newspapers are mentioned, nothing more is intended by the expression, than that they are papers, which espouse the cause of the Society.

CHAPTER II.

Influence of the Society on the condition of free persons of color.

The object of the Society is declared by the Constitution, to be *exclusively* the colonization of free persons of color, with their own consent. Now there is nothing in this object necessarily benevolent. A colony may be established for commercial purposes, or as a military station, or as a receptacle for convicts; or to aid the diffusion of

Christianity. The absence in the Constitution of all avowed motive for the proposed colony, invites the co-operation of all who advocate the scheme from any motive whatever. For the purpose of raising money, it is the policy of the Society to appeal to all the various and discordant motives that can be incited in behalf of the colony. A strong and very general prejudice exists against the free blacks. It is unfortunately the policy of the Society to aggravate this prejudice, since the more we abominate these people, the more willing we shall be to pay money for the purpose of getting rid of them. The influence of the doctrine of *expediency* on good men, will be seen in the unchristian language they have used, in regard to this unhappy and oppressed portion of their fellow men.

"Free blacks are a greater NUISANCE, than even slaves themselves." *Address of C. C. Harper, Af. Rep.* 11. 189.

"A horde of miserable people—the objects of universal suspicion—subsisting by plunder." *Speech of Gen. Mercer, Vice President.*

"Of all classes of our population, the *most vicious* is that of the free colored—contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them." *Speech of Mr. Clay, Vice President,* 12th *Report,* p. 21.

"Averse to labor, with no incentives to industry, or motives to respect, they maintain a precarious existence by petty thefts and plunder." *African Rep.* VI. 135.

"They are alike injurious by their conduct and example to all other classes of society." *Memorial of Manchester Col. Soc. to Virginia Legislature.*

"A large mass of human beings who hang as a *vile excrescence* upon society." *Address of C. L. Mosby, before a Col. Soc. in Virginia.*

"This class of persons a CURSE AND CONTAGION wherever they reside." *African Rep.* III. 203.

"Of all the descriptions of our population, and of *either* portion of the African race, the free persons of color are by far as a class, the *most corrupt, depraved and abandoned.*" *Speech of Mr. Clay, African Rep.* VI. 12.

"An anomalous race of beings, the *most depraved upon earth.*" *African Rep.* VII. 230.

"They are a mildew upon our fields, a scourge to our backs, and a stain upon our escutcheon." *Memorial of Kentucky Col. Soc. to Congress.*

"I will look no farther when I seek for the most degraded, the *most abandoned race on the earth*, but rest my eye on this people." *Address before the Lynchburgh Col. Soc.*

"There is a class (free blacks) among us, introduced by violence, notoriously ignorant, degraded and miserable, *mentally diseased*, broken spirited, acted upon by no motives to honorable exertions, scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light." *Editorial Article, Afr. Rep.* I. 68.

We may here remark that the tone of these extracts is very different from that used when the speaker desires to excite sympathy for the wretched. We are told that these people are vicious and debased, but no hint is given that their vice and debasement are the result of sinful prejudices and cruel laws.—No appeal is made to the spirit of Christianity to pour oil and wine into the wounds of suffering humanity. We are not reminded that these wretches are our brethren for whom Christ died. Nothing is omitted to impress us with a sense of the depth of the misery into which they are plunged; but for what object are these frightful pictures presented to us? Is it to urge us to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to instruct the ignorant, and to reform the wicked? No, but to transport them to Africa!

To an unsophisticated Christian it would seem that the true way of relieving the wretchedness and vice of these people would be, first to protest against their unrighteous oppression, and to procure the repeal of those laws which forbid their instruction; and then to make them partakers of the blessings of education and religion. But far from the Colonization Society are all such old-fashioned ways of doing good. Instead of protesting against the causes of all this misery, THE SOCIETY EXCUSES AND JUSTIFIES THE OPPRESSION OF THE FREE NEGROES, AND THE PREJUDICES AGAINST THEM.

"SEVERE NECESSITY places them (free negroes) in a class of degraded beings." *Address of Mr. Rives to Lynchburgh Col. Soc. Afr. Rep.* V. 238.

"The severe legislation, *I will not say that under all circumstances it is too severe*, the severe legislation of the slave States which drives their emancipated blacks to the free States, and scatters the NUISANCE there, attests that we have a share in this evil." *Speech of G. Smith, Esq. Vice President.* 14th *Report*, p. xiii.

"This law," (a law by which a manumitted negro becomes again a slave if he remains twelve months in the state) "odious and unjust as it may at first view appear, and hard as it may seem to bear upon the liberated negro was doubtless dictated by *sound policy*, and its repeal would be regarded by none with more unfeigned regret than by *the friends of African colonization. It has restrained many masters from giving freedom to their slaves*, and has thereby contributed to check the growth of an evil already too great and formidable." *Memorial from Powhattan Col. Soc. to Virginia Legislature.*

"I am clear that whether we consider it with reference to the welfare of the state, or the happiness of the blacks, it were better to have left them in CHAINS than to have liberated them to receive such freedom as they enjoy, and greater freedom we *cannot, must not* allow them." *Af. Rep.* III. 197.

"The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society —prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, NOR RELIGION ITSELF CAN subdue, mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation *inevitable and incurable.*" *Address of the Connecticut Col. Soc.*

"The managers consider it clear that causes exist and are now operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class in this country, which are fixed not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power; CHRISTIANITY cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, but AN ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE, *and no more to be changed than the laws of nature.* 15th *Report*, p. 47.

"We do not ask that the provisions of our Constitution and statute book should be so modified as to relieve and exalt the condition of the colored people *whilst they remain with us.* Let these provisions stand in ALL THEIR RIGOR

to work out the ultimate and unbounded good of these people. *Memorial of the New-York State Col. Soc. to the Legislature.*

"If we were constrained to admire so uncommon a being" (a pious, highly cultivated, scientific negro,) "our very admiration would be mingled with disgust, because in the physical organization of his frame we meet an insurmountable barrier even to approach to social intercourse, and in the Egyptian color which nature has stamped on his features, a principle of repulsion so strong as to forbid the idea of a communion either of interest or of feeling as utterly abhorrent." *Af. Rep.* VII. p. 331.

We find from the foregoing extracts that the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society officially declare that no human power can counteract the causes which prevent the elevation and improvement of the free black in this country. That not even the religion of Christ can in this land of light of Bibles and of temples, do for him what it can amid the darkness and paganism of Africa. And we find a powerful State Society recommending to the Legislature to do evil, that good may come. Now if it be true, that the degradation of the free blacks is *inevitable* and cannot even be removed by Christianity, then indeed as the Society affirms, it is not the "fault" of the white man, and he, not being in fault, there is no reason why he should change his conduct towards them, or repeal those laws which Mr. Smith will not say are under all circumstances "too severe." Let us see what are these laws, which a most worthy Colonizationist, and a distinguished officer of the Society, intimates, are not too severe; and what are those causes of degradation which we are assured by the Board of Managers, are an ordination of providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature.

In South-Carolina, if a free negro "entertains" a runaway slave, he forfeits ten pounds, and if unable to pay the fine, which must be the case ninety-nine times in a hundred, he is to be sold as a slave for life. In 1827 a *free woman and her three children* were thus sold, for harboring two slave children.

In Mississippi every negro or mulatto, not being

able to *prove* himself free, may be sold as a slave. Should the certificate of his manumission, or the evidence of his parent's freedom be lost or stolen, he is reduced to hopeless bondage. This provision extends to most of the slave States, and is in full operation in the District of Columbia.

In South-Carolina, any assembly of free negroes, even in the presence of white persons, "in a confined or secret place for the purpose of *mental instruction*," is an unlawful assembly, and may be dispersed by a magistrate, who is authorized to inflict twenty lashes on each free negro attending the meeting.

In the city of Savannah, *any person* who teaches a free negro to read or write, incurs a penalty of thirty dollars. Of course a father may not instruct his own children.

In Maryland, a Justice of the Peace may order a free negro's ears to be cut off for striking a *white* man. In Kentucky, for the same offence, he is to receive thirty lashes, "well laid on." The law of Louisiana declares, "Free people of color ought never to insult or strike *white* people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but, on the contrary, *they ought to yield to them on every occasion*, and never speak or answer them but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment according to the nature of the case."

The corporation of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, passed an ordinance making it penal for any free negro *to receive from the post-office, have in his possession*, or circulate any publication or writing whatsoever of a *seditious* character.

In North-Carolina, the law prohibits a free colored man, whatever may be his attainments or ecclesiastical authority, to preach the gospel.

In Georgia, a white man is liable to a fine of *five hundred dollars* for teaching a free negro to read or write. If one free negro teach another, he is to be *fined* and *whipped* at the discretion of the court! Should a free negro presume to preach to, or exhort his companions, he may be seized without warrant, and whipped thirty-nine lashes, and the same number of lashes may be applied to each one of his congregation.

In Virginia, should free negroes or their children assemble at a school to learn reading and writing, any Justice of the Peace may dismiss the school with twenty stripes on the back of each pupil.

In some States, free negroes may not assemble together for any purpose, to a greater number than *seven*. In North-Carolina, free negroes may not trade, buy, or sell, out of the cities or towns in which they reside, under the penalty of forfeiting their goods, and receiving in lieu thereof thirty-nine lashes.

The laws of Ohio against the free blacks are peculiarly detestable, because not originating from the fears and prejudices of slave holders. Not only are the blacks excluded in that State from the benefit of public schools, but with a refinement of cruelty unparalleled, they are doomed to idleness and poverty, by a law which renders a white man who employs a colored one to labor for him one hour, liable for his support through life!!

By a late law of Maryland, a free negro coming into the State, is liable to a fine of fifty dollars for every week he remains in it. If he cannot pay the fine he is SOLD.

In Louisiana, the penalty for instructing a free black in a *Sunday School*, is, for the first offence, five hundred dollars; for the second offence, DEATH!!

Such, in a greater or less degree, is the situation of three hundred thousand of our fellow citizens; and the only comfort, the only consolation, the only mitigation of their sufferings, which a Society, said to be "full of benevolence, and the hallowed impulses of Heaven's own mercy," proposes, or even *wishes* for them, is their transportation to Africa!

Is this a harsh assertion? Let us attend to the proofs that THE SOCIETY DISCOURAGES ALL ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF THE FREE BLACKS.

We have already seen, that the managers of the American Colonization Society officially declare, that, in their opinion, no human power can remove the causes which prevent the improvement and elevation of the free negroes to any considerable extent in this country; and that the New-York Society, in addressing the Legislature, express their desire, that the provisions in the constitution and sta-

tute book of that State relative to the blacks, may "*stand in all their rigor.*" The provision in the constitution here alluded to, is that recent one, which virtually deprived the blacks of the right of suffrage which the fathers of the Revolution had given them, by requiring a freehold qualification. In the Convention by which the new constitution was formed, many of the most distinguished citizens and able lawyers, including Rufus King and Chancellor Kent, had protested against this proscription as unjust and anti-republican; but the Colonization Society are free from scruples of this sort in relation to men with black skins, and they declare to the Legislature, without whose consent this provision in the constitution cannot be changed, that they wish it to stand in all its rigor. But not contented with giving their sanction to past acts of injustice, the Society use their influence with the Legislature to prevent its benevolent operation in future. Their Memorial proceeds:—"Persuaded that their condition here is *not susceptible* of a radical and permanent improvement, *we would deprecate* any legislation that should encourage the vain and injurious hope of it."

The Connecticut Colonization Society, in their address already quoted, denies that even "*religion itself*" can subdue the prejudices existing against these people. The same address authoritatively decides, that the free blacks "constitute a class by themselves, a class out of which no individual *can be elevated.*"

The Kentucky State Colonization Society, in their official address say, "It is *against* this increase of colored persons, who take but a nominal freedom, *and cannot rise from their degraded condition*, that this Society attempts to provide." *Af. Rep.* VI. 82.

"The people of color must in this country remain for ages, probably forever, a separate and distinct caste, weighed down by causes powerful, universal, *invincible*, which neither legislation, NOR CHRISTIANITY can remove." *Af. Rep. Edit. Art.* VII. 196.

"We have endeavored, but in vain, to restore them (the free negroes) either to self respect or to the respect of others. It is *not our fault* that we have failed. It is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we

nor they *can ever have control.*" *Speech of Rev. Dr. Nott before N. York Col. Soc.*

This last extract claims attention from the extraordinary assertions it contains, and from the high character of the author. No explanations are given of the *vain* endeavors which have been made to restore the blacks either to self respect or to the respect of others. When, where, by whom, and how were these efforts made? Dr. Nott is addressing the State Society, and speaks in the plural number. We confess we see nothing like such efforts in the Memorial of that Society to the Legislature. It is moreover to be recollected, that the American Society, in its address to its auxiliaries, warns them against such efforts. "The moral, intellectual and *political* improvement of people of color within the United States, are objects foreign to the powers of this Society." *Address of the Am. Col. Soc. to its auxiliaries. Af. Rep.* VII. 291.

Let us see also what two *religious* colonization papers say on this subject.

"If the *free* people of color were generally taught to read, it might be an inducement to them to *remain* in this country, we would offer them no such inducements." *Southern Religious Telegraph, February* 19, 1831.

"It must appear evident to all, that *every endeavor* to divert the attention of the community, or even a portion of the means which the present crisis so imperatively calls for, from the Colonization Society, to measures calculated to bind the colored population to this country, and seeking to raise them to a level with the whites, whether by founding colleges, *or in any other way*, tends directly in the proportion that it succeeds, *to counteract and thwart the whole plan of colonization.*" *New-Haven Religious Intelligencer, July*, 1831.

We perceive from these extracts, that the improvement of the free blacks is represented by Colonizationists as impossible, and of course it is folly to attempt what is impracticable. The very attempt, moreover, is calculated to counteract and thwart the whole plan of Colonization, as far as it succeeds. But this is not all. Some might think the obligations of Christianity required us to instruct the ignorant, and to succor the oppressed. To remove this

prejudice, we are assured that even Christianity cannot help the negro in America! When before, has the power of our blessed religion in changing the heart, subduing evil affections, and removing unholy prejudices been questioned by professing Christians?

The influence of the gospel of Christ, has led thousands and tens of thousands to offer themselves as willing victims at the stake or in the amphitheatre—it has prostrated the temples, the altars, and the gods of paganism—it has triumphed over ancient and endeared superstitions—it has delivered the Hindoo from the fetters of caste, and tamed the North American savage, and yet, according to Colonizationists, it is utterly impotent, when brought into collision with the prejudices of *American* Christians, towards an unhappy portion of their fellow countrymen!

And what unsuccessful experiments, justify this depreciation of the gospel of Jesus Christ? When have those who thus speak of the inefficacy of religion in subduing these sinful prejudices, tried its power? When have Colonizationists warned Christians that the negro is created by the same Almighty Being, descended from the same parent, redeemed by the same Saviour, and made an heir of the same immortality with themselves? When have we been reminded by Colonizationists of that heart-searching declaration which will be uttered by the Judge at the last day, "inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not unto me?"

The oppressed and degraded state of the free blacks here, is urged by Colonizationists as a reason for removing them to Africa, and the enterprise is claimed by them as one of Christian benevolence. Now should it appear that the persecution of these people is mainly inflicted by Colonizationists themselves, it may reasonably be doubted, whether the act of sending persons beyond the reach of our own cruelty, is one of legitimate benevolence. We have never heard the expulsion of the Huguenots from France, cited as a proof of the humanity of Lewis the XIV. We are aware that the intimation, that Colonizationists are themselves mainly the cause of the oppression and degradation of the free blacks, will be received by many with indignant surprise; and yet the *facts* on this point are

strong and abundant. They will be developed in the progress of this work, but at present we can allude only to one, and that a very important one. The Legislatures of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and Georgia are all Colonization Legislatures: that is, they have all passed resolutions in favor of the Society; and yet these legislatures all keep in force most cruel and wicked laws against the free blacks. Now were they sincerely actuated by benevolence towards these people, they might easily discover "a more excellent way" of showing their charity, than by lauding the Colonization Society.

Admitting that those who have gone to Africa have improved their condition, what is the total amount of good thus effected? Of the 319,467 free negroes in the United States, 2,122 have in the last 18 years been sent to Liberia. Supposing them to be happy in their new abode, at what a deplorable sacrifice of the happiness of their brethren here, has their own been purchased! To raise funds for their transportation, our churches and halls, in all parts of the United States, have rung with reproaches and accusations against the free people of color. Orators, preachers, legislators have denounced them as nuisances, vile excrescences on the body politic; ignorant, depraved, debased, and utterly incapable of improvement and elevation. The laws oppressing them have been vindicated, and all legislation deprecated, that would even encourage the hope of their permanent improvement.

And is it possible that this general and united effort to prevent these people from rising, and to render them odious to the community, should have no practical effect on public opinion and conduct? Already do we hear their forcible expulsion from the country, urged in petitions, and advocated in our State Legislatures. He must be wilfully blind to passing events, who does not perceive that the persecution of these people is increasing in extent and malignity. Lafayette remarked in his last visit with astonishment, the aggravation of the prejudices against the blacks, and stated that in the revolutionary war, the black and white soldiers messed together without hesitation.

In no instance perhaps, has Colonization had so direct and obvious an influence in augmenting the injuries and

oppression of this unhappy race as in Connecticut. To that State have good men long rejoiced to look as to a bright pattern of a Christian republic. There they beheld political liberty in its highest perfection, and so divested by the influence of religion, of those irregularities of conduct which too often attend it, that the State was proverbially distinguished as "the land of steady habits." In no part of the world were the blessings of education more highly valued, or more generally diffused. The Colonization Society had there taken a strong hold on the affections of the people, and had found in Connecticut, divines and politicians, and in the religious periodicals of New-Haven, zealous and able champions.

The city of New-Haven had been long, alike distinguished for its literary institutions, and for the sobriety and piety of its inhabitants. It is not, therefore, surprising that some of the most intelligent and influential of our colored citizens, were led to believe that New-Haven would be a proper site for a school for their children, and that *such* a school would *there* find generous patrons. In 1831, a convention was held in Philadelphia of delegates from the free colored people in other States, and it was determined that an effort should be made to raise funds for "a Collegiate school, on the manual labor system." A committee was appointed to carry the plan into execution. This committee published in Philadelphia, "An appeal to the benevolent," in which they stated the necessity of the proposed school, on account of the difficulty which colored children experienced in gaining admission into ordinary seminaries, or mechanical establishments; and that the proposed seminary would be located at New-Haven, and "established on the self supporting system, so that the student may cultivate habits of industry, and obtain a useful *mechanical* or *agricultural* profession, while pursuing classical studies."

The education of colored youth was publicly countenanced by several distinguished divines of Philadelphia, and Bishops White and Onderdonk, and the Rev. Doctors McAuley, Bedell and Ely gave the Committee written certificates of their approbation. Little, alas, did these gentlemen anticipate the feeling this effort would excite,

among the Christians of New-Haven. No sooner had intelligence of the intended school reached that city, than the mayor summoned a town meeting "to take into consideration a scheme, said to be in progress for the establishment in this city of a college for the education of colored youth." The meeting was held on the 8th September, 1831, and it was "Resolved by the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and freemen of the city of New-Haven, in city meeting assembled, that we will *resist* the establishment of the proposed college in this place by every lawful means." This resolution was preceded by a preamble, stating that "in connection with this establishment, the immediate abolition of slavery in the United States, is not only recommended and encouraged by the advocates of the proposed college, but demanded as a right," and "that the propagation of sentiments, favorable to the immediate emancipation of slaves, *in disregard* of the civil institutions of the States to which they belong, and as auxiliary thereto, the contemporaneous founding of colleges for educating colored people, is an unwarrantable and dangerous interference with the internal concerns of other States, and ought to be discouraged."

That the education of colored citizens in Connecticut, is an unwarrantable interference with the internal concerns of other States, and that the friends of the proposed college ever recommended the immediate emancipation of slaves *in disregard* of the civil institutions of the States to which they belong, are assertions which the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and free men of the city of New-Haven, prudently permitted to rest on their own authority, without adducing any other evidence of their truth.

But surely, the pious and excellent Colonizationists of New-Haven, who are so anxious to civilize the natives of Africa, must have been indignant at this attempt to keep Americans in ignorance. Alas, in that crowded assembly, there was but one voice raised against its unholy resolution, and that was the voice of a decided Anti-colonizationist, the Rev. S. S. Jocelin, while one of the public advocates of the resolution, was the Secretary of the New-Haven Committee of Correspondence of the American Colonization Society.

It is not very reputable to our republicanism and religion that there should be any necessity for seminaries for the *exclusive* use of such of our fellow countrymen as happen to have darker complexions than our own; but still less reputable is it, that the very persons who would make the loudest outcry against the admission of colored youth into our colleges, should thus object to their having colleges of their own. The Colonization party in New-Haven could have prevented this high handed oppression, but their influence was exerted not for, but *against* the improvement and elevation of their colored brethren.

Unhappily for the character of Connecticut, for that of our common country, and even of Christianity itself, the proceedings in New-Haven were but the commencement of a series of outrages on justice, humanity, and the rights of freemen.

There are occasions on which it is treason to truth and honor, if not to religion, to suppress our indignation; and while we shall scrupulously adhere to truth in relating the measures pursued in Connecticut, to prevent the education of a certain class of colored persons, we shall not shrink from a free expression of our opinions of those measures, and of their authors.

Miss Crandall, a communicant in the Baptist church, and as we believe, a lady of irreproachable character, had for some time been at the head of a female boarding school, in the town of Canterbury, Connecticut, when in the autumn of 1832, a pious colored female applied to her for admission into her school, stating that she wanted "to get a little more learning—enough if possible to teach colored children." After some hesitation, Miss Crandall consented to admit her, but was soon informed that this intruder must be dismissed, or that the school would be greatly injured. This threat turned her attention to the cruel prejudices and disadvantages under which the blacks are suffering, and she resolved to open a school *exclusively* for colored girls. It has been thought expedient to doubt the philanthropy of this resolution, and to attribute it to pecuniary motives. Whatever may have been her motives, and pecuniary ones would not have been unlawful, she had a perfect right to open a school for pupils of any color whatever, and had

not the moral sense of the community been perverted, this attempt to instruct the poor, the friendless, and the ignorant, would have met with applause instead of contumely. She discontinued her school, and in February, 1833, gave public notice of her intention to open one for colored girls. This notice excited prodigious commotion in the town of Canterbury. That *black* girls should presume to learn reading and writing, and music, and geography, was past all bearing. Committee after committee waited on Miss Crandall, to remonstrate against the intended school, but to no purpose. More efficient means were found necessary to avert the impending calamity, and a legal town meeting was summoned to consider the awful crisis. At this meeting resolutions were passed, expressing the strongest disapprobation of the proposed school, and the preamble declared that "the obvious tendency of this school would be to collect within the town of Canterbury, large numbers of persons from other States, whose characters and habits might be various and unknown to us, thereby rendering insecure the *persons, property and reputations* of our citizens." Had this extreme nervous apprehension of danger, been excited in the good people of Canterbury, by the introduction of some hundreds of Irish laborers into their village to construct a rail-road or canal, we should still have thought that their temperament must be rather peculiar; but when we find them thus alarmed, not merely for their property, but for their *persons* and *reputations* at the approach of fifteen or twenty "young ladies and little misses of color," we confess we are astonished that the collected wisdom of these people was not able to frame an argument against the school, less disgraceful to themselves.

Andrew T. Judson, Esq., acted as clerk to this meeting, and supported the resolutions in a speech in which he is reported to have said, "that should the school go into operation, their sons and daughters would be forever ruined, and property no longer safe." For his part he was not willing for the honor and welfare of the town, that even *one corner* of it, should be appropriated to such a purpose. After the example which New-Haven had set, he continued, shall it be said that *we* cannot, that we dare not resist?"

Mr. Judson farther stated, that they had "A LAW which should prevent that school from going into operation."

The resolutions of the town meeting, as became so grave a matter, were communicated to Miss Crandall by the "civil authority and selectmen," but strange as it may seem, that lady stood less in dread of them, than they did of the "young ladies of color," for she refused to retreat from the ground she had taken.

The example of New-Haven, we have seen, was held up to the people of Canterbury by Mr. Judson, for their encouragement and as an earnest of their ultimate success. Still the cases were not exactly similar. "The civil authority and selectmen" of Canterbury had not the imposing array of power and influence displayed by "the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and freemen of the city of New-Haven." The latter by the mere expression of their opinion, had prevented the establishment of a college for colored youth; the latter were set at naught by an unprotected female. Some means more efficacious than the fulminations of a town-meeting were therefore to be next tried. Mr. Judson had indeed a certain LAW in reserve, but it was necessary that *certain influences* should be previously brought into action, before a civilized and Christian people could be induced to tolerate the application of that law. Colonization, as already remarked, had taken a deep hold on the affections of the people of Connecticut. Their most eminent men had enrolled themselves in the ranks of the Society. To this powerful association recourse was now had. On the 22d March, 1833, the "civil authority and selectmen" of Canterbury made their "APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY." In this most extraordinary paper they expatiated on the *benevolence* of the Society towards the colored population, and deplore the opposition it encounters from certain individuals who have formed "the Anti-Slavery Society." These men they assert wish to admit the blacks "into the bosom of our society," and would "justify intermarriages with the white people." They then recite their own grievances, detail the proceedings of their town-meeting, dwell on Miss Crandall's pertinacity in pursuing her own plans, and express their horror of abolition principles, and state that Mr. Garrison had said

that the excitement in Canterbury "is one of the genuine flowers of the Colonization garden;" and they add "Be it so, we APPEAL *to the American Colonization Society*, to which our statement is addressed—we appeal to every philanthropist and to every Christian!" Mr. Judson's name appears at the head of the signers to the appeal.

Had Miss Crandall appealed to the Society in behalf of her school, she would probably and very properly have been told that the subject of her school was not embraced in the constitutional objects of the Society; and may we not ask, if the Society has no right to encourage, has it any right to discourage the establishment of schools of any description whatever? In the singleness of its object it has often been compared to the Bible Society; what would have been thought of *such* an appeal to the American Bible Society? How the appeal was answered we shall presently see.

Having thus identified their cause with that of the Colonization Society, and secured the sympathy of its numerous and powerful friends in Connecticut, Mr. Judson and his associates proceeded to further operations. Foiled in their attempts to persuade or intimidate, they now resolved on coercion. On the 1st April, another town-meeting was convened, at which it was "Voted that a petition in behalf of the town of Canterbury to the next General Assembly be drawn up in suitable language, deprecating the evil consequences of bringing from *other towns* and other States people of color for *any* purpose, and more especially for the purpose of disseminating the principles and doctrines opposed to THE BENEVOLENT COLONIZATION SYSTEM, praying said assembly to pass and enact such laws as in their wisdom will prevent *the evil*." Mr. Judson with others, was appointed a Committee to prepare the petition, and to request other towns to forward similar petitions. The malignity of this vote is equalled only by its absurdity. The desired law is to prevent the evil of blacks passing not only from other States, but *other towns*. Every black citizen of Connecticut is to be imprisoned in the town in which the law happens to find him, and he may not travel into the adjoining town for "any purpose," and all this especially to prevent interference with "the *benevolent* Colonization system."

Did the Colonization Society protest against such an outrage being committed in its behalf—did it indignantly disclaim all connection, all sympathy with men who in its name, were striving to perpetuate such abominable tyranny? It is not known, that one single Colonizationist in Connecticut, has *publicly* expressed his disapprobation of these proceedings.* Certain it is, that the effect of the "appeal" and of this vote, was not such as to induce the Canterbury gentlemen to faulter in their career—we have seen that Mr. Judson had a LAW, which was to arrest the school. When the "appeal" had been before the public just one month, the selectmen resolved to avail themselves of this law.

Among the pupils of Miss Crandall, was a colored girl about seventeen years of age, who had come from Rhode-Island to enjoy the advantages of the school. The pursuit of knowledge under discouraging difficulties has rarely failed to excite applause; and the virtuous struggles of the poor and obscure to improve and elevate themselves, claim the sympathy of Christian benevolence. In the present instance we behold a youthful female, of a despised and depressed race, attempting to emerge from the ignorance and degradation into which she had been cast by birth; and abandoning her home and friends, and travelling to another State, applying for instruction to the only seminary in the whole country open to receive her. And now let us see what sympathy this poor and defenceless, but innocent and praiseworthy girl experienced from the admirers of "the benevolent Colonization system." On the day after her arrival, she was ordered by the selectmen to leave the town. This order, as illegal as it was inhumane, was disregarded; and on the 22nd April, Mr. Judson and his fellow functionaries instituted on behalf of the town, a suit against her under an old vagrant act of Connecticut, and a writ was issued to the sheriff, to require her appearance before a Justice of the Peace: the writ recited, that according to the statute she had forfeited to the town $1 62 for each day she had remained in it, since she was ordered to depart;

* The author has been informed of *three* Colonization gentlemen in Connecticut who condemned the Canterbury affair. He hopes and believes there were many more.

and that in default of payment, she WAS TO BE WHIPPED ON THE NAKED BODY NOT EXCEEDING TEN STRIPES, unless she departed within ten days after conviction. The barbarous and obsolete law under which this suit was brought, was intended to protect towns from the intrusion of paupers who might become chargeable. The friends of the school had offered to give the selectmen bonds to any amount, to secure the town from all cost on account of the pupils; and of course this suit was a wicked perversion of the law, and the plaintiffs ought to have been indicted, for a malicious prosecution under color of office. With equal propriety might the civil authority of New-Haven warn a student in Yale College from New-York to leave the city, and on his refusal, order him to be whipped on the naked body as a vagrant pauper.

About the time of the return of this writ, the Legislature of Connecticut assembled, and so successfully had the Canterbury persecution been identified with Colonization, that a law was passed to suppress the school, and all others of a similar character. Its preamble declared that "attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this State for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States and countries, which would tend to the *great increase* of the colored population of this State, and thereby to the *injury* of the people." The act provides, that every person, who shall set up or establish any school, academy, or literary institution, for the instruction or education of colored persons who are not inhabitants of Connecticut; or who shall teach in such school, or who shall board any colored pupil of such school, not an inhabitant of the State, shall forfeit one hundred dollars for the first offence, two hundred dollars for the second, and so on, doubling for each succeeding offence, unless the consent of the civil authority and select men of the town be previously obtained.

Mr. Judson's late attempt to enforce the whipping law, reminded the Legislature of the propriety of abolishing that relic of barbarism, and it was accordingly repealed, and thus were the backs of Miss Crandall's pupils saved from the threatened laceration.

It is painful and mortifying to reflect on the law obtained by Mr. Judson and his associates, for the suppression

of the school, and which has very generally received the title of "the Connecticut Black Act." It is an act alien to the habits, the character, the religion of Connecticut. It is an act which neither policy nor duty can vindicate. It is an act which will afford its authors no consolation in the prospect of their final account, and which their children will blush to remember.

It is not surprising that a *Connecticut* Legislature, about to pass a law for the *discouragement* of learning, should wish for an excuse; nor that they should find themselves constrained to *invent* one. Miss Crandall had fifteen or twenty girls in her school, and it does not appear that the Legislature had ascertained how many of them had come from other States, nor that they had inquired into the amount of injury sustained by the citizens of Canterbury in their "persons, property, and reputations," from these "misses of color;" and yet they unhesitatingly assert, that the "increase" of the colored population in the State occasioned by such schools, would be "great;" and that such increase would tend to the "injury of the people." To test the truth of these two assertions, let it be recollected, first, that no evidence existed that any other seminary for blacks was at this time contemplated in Connecticut; and that the free colored people are, as a class, sunk in abject poverty, and that very few of them have the means of sending their children from other States into Connecticut, and there maintaining them at school; and, secondly, that no portion of this population would be so little likely to occasion "injury to the people," as those who were placed at a religious school, and instructed in morals and literature. As to the sincerity of the apprehensions felt by the Legislature, let it be further recollected, that the law is intended to prevent the ingress of such blacks *only* as might come for the honorable and virtuous purpose of education, while not the slightest impediment is opposed to the introduction of cooks, waiters, scullions, shoeblacks, &c., in any number. The *best* are excluded, the *worst* freely admitted.

We have seen that Colonizationists regard all attempts to elevate the free blacks, as an interference with their system, and the Black Act is admirably calculated to

prevent their elevation. Connecticut closes her schools to blacks from New-York and elsewhere. If this is right, and what State more religious than Connecticut, other States may be expected to follow *her example.* Hence no seminary, in any one State, for the instruction of the blacks, can be founded by their joint contributions; and from the academies, boarding-schools, and colleges of the whites, they are excluded; and, of course, they are thus doomed to perpetual ignorance. Let each State, it is said, instruct its own youth. It is well for Yale College that this doctrine is applied only to *black* aspirants for knowledge.

In 1828, an African Mission School was established at Hartford, for the purpose of educating colored youth, "to be selected from our numerous African population," and, of course, from other States besides Connecticut. It was under the patronage of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. No outcry was excited against this school; no citizen of Hartford trembled for his property, person or reputation. Why not? Because the school was auxiliary to Colonization, and those instructed in it were to be sent *out* of the country.

No sooner was the passage of the Black Act known in Canterbury, than this triumph over justice, humanity and constitutional liberty, was celebrated by a *feu de joie*, and the ringing of bells. Nor was the act permitted to remain a dead letter. Miss Crandall was prosecuted under it, and being unable to procure bail, was committed to PRISON. The next day bail was obtained, and she returned to her school. Well, indeed, might the public press, with some memorable exceptions, execrate the Black Act; and well indeed, might Mr. Judson feel impatient, under the obloquy that was falling upon him, as the chief instigator and manager of the persecution. "A friend in need, is a friend indeed." And *now* was the time when he needed and received that countenance, for which he had appealed to the Colonization Society. It was not probably expected that the managers of the parent Society would officially notice the appeal, but a mode was devised, on the part of Connecticut Colonizationists, of publicly expressing their approbation of Mr. Judson's conduct. On the anniversary of the declaration that "all men are created equal," and a

few days after Miss Crandall's imprisonment, the Windham County* Colonization Society convened, and appointed Mr. Judson their orator and agent, thus proclaiming that HE was the man they delighted to honor. Another response to the appeal, was in a few days heard from New-York. The chairman of the executive committee of the New-York City Colonization Society, is the editor of the New-York Commercial Advertiser, and its columns were loaded with criminations of Miss Crandall, and vindications of the Black Act. "The inhabitants of Canterbury" were declared to be "as quiet, peaceable, humane and inoffensive people as can be named in the United States." The constitutionality of the Black Act was broadly maintained, and it was averred to be "just such a law in its spirit, if not in its provisions, as we are in the constant practice of enforcing in this city, to prevent our charitable institutions from being filled to overflowing with black paupers from the South, and white paupers from Europe." Of the gentleman who drafted the Black Act, the public were assured, "a warmer heart than his throbs in few bosoms, and the *African race* has no firmer friend than him."†

On the 23d of August, Miss Crandall was brought to trial. The *crime* with which she was charged, was fully proved. One of the witnesses testified: "The school is usually opened and closed with prayer; the Scriptures are read and explained in the school daily; portions are committed to memory by the pupils, and considered part of their education."

The orator and agent of the Windham Colonization Society, opened the case on the part of the prosecution, and to this gentleman, it is believed, belongs the distinction of having been the first man in New-England to propound publicly the doctrine, that free *colored* persons are not citizens. This doctrine was essential to the validity of the Black Act, since by the federal Constitution, citizens of one State are entitled to all the privileges of citizenship in all the States; and the Black Act prohibited colored persons from other States from going to school in Connecticut; a

* The county in which Canterbury is situated.

† Com. Adv. July 16 and 29, 1833.

prohibition palpably unconstitutional, if free blacks are citizens. The presiding Judge submitted the cause to the jury without comment; and some of them having scruples about Mr. Judson's new doctrine, refused to agree in a verdict of guilty, and a new trial was consequently ordered. In the ensuing October, Miss Crandall was again placed at the bar, while the vice-president of the New Haven Colonization Society, Judge Dagget, took his seat on the bench. The cause against the defendant was again argued by the Windham Colonization orator and agent; and Judge Dagget, warned by the result of the preceding trial, of the necessity of enlightening the consciences of the jury, delivered an elaborate charge. Rarely has any Judge enjoyed such an opportunity of defending the poor and fatherless, of doing justice to the afflicted and needy, of delivering the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor. The merits of the cause turned on the simple question, whether free blacks are citizens or not. We might have presumed that a Judge, aware of his solemn responsibilities, would have prepared himself for the decision of this momentous question, by the most patient and thorough research. On the opinion he might pronounce, would perhaps rest the future education, comfort, freedom, and not unlikely, everlasting happiness of multitudes of his fellow men. Under such circumstances, the public had a right to expect, that he would resort to every source of information; that he would consult the opinions of eminent statesmen and jurists, investigate the constitutional history of the rights of these people, study the proceedings of Congress in relation to them, and bring together such a mass of facts, such an array of arguments, as would prove that his decision, whatever it might be, was the result of conscientious inquiry, and that the bench was elevated far above the prejudices and passions, which had brought to the bar an innocent and benevolent female.

The Judge in his charge, expresses himself in the following words:* "Are the free people of color citizens?

* We quote from a newspaper report of the charge, and have no knowledge that the accuracy of the report has ever been denied.

I answer, no." The grounds on which this answer is given, appear to be the following:

1st. "They are not so styled in the Constitution of the United States. In that clause of the Constitution which fixes the basis of representation, there was an opportunity to have called them citizens, if they were so considered. But that makes free *persons* (adding three-fifths of all other persons) the basis of representation and taxation."

The words of the Constitution referred to by the Judge, are, (Art. I. Sect. 3.) "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

Now, it seems, free *colored* persons cannot be citizens, because they are not in this section so called; but unfortunately free *white* persons are not called citizens, and they also must therefore be disfranchised! Apprentices ("those bound to service for a term of years,") are likewise included among free *persons*, and they also cannot be citizens!

Had free *white* persons been spoken of as *citizens*, and free *black* persons only as "persons," then indeed there would have been some force in the Judge's first reason; but as there is not the slightest reference in the Constitution to the complexion of the "free persons," we cannot understand the argument, and proceed, therefore, to his

2d reason. "They (free negroes) are not so styled, (citizens) so far as I am aware, in the laws of Congress, or of any of the States."

It would thus seem that men with *black* skins cannot be citizens, unless the laws expressly declare them to be so. As far as we are aware, men with *red* hair are not styled citizens in the laws of Congress, or of any of the States.

3d reason. "His Honor then read from Kent's Commentary, Vol. II. p. 210, a note in which the commentator speaks of the degraded condition of the blacks,

and the disabilities under which they labor, and thence *inferred* that, in Kent's opinion, they were not citizens."

Had the Judge found it convenient to consult the *text* of this learned and independent jurist, the following passage would have saved him the trouble of drawing an inference.

"The article in the Constitution of the United States, declaring that citizens of each State were entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, applies to natural born or duly naturalized citizens, and if *they* remove from one State to another, they are entitled to the privileges that persons of the *same description* are entitled to in the State to which the removal is made, and to none other. If, therefore, for instance, free persons of color are not entitled to vote in Carolina, free persons of color emigrating there from a Northern State would not be entitled to vote." Here is an express admission of the citizenship of free colored persons, and their case is cited to illustrate the rights of *citizens* under the federal Constitution. If a free black, according to the commentary, moving from one State to another, is, under the federal Constitution, entitled only to such privileges as the free blacks in the latter State enjoy, it follows irresistibly that he *is entitled* to such privileges as the free blacks do there enjoy. Now, the free blacks of Connecticut enjoy a legal right to go to school, and to *any* school that will receive them; hence, according to Chancellor Kent, a free black removing from another State into Connecticut, has the same right, and hence the Black Act is plainly and palpably unconstitutional. The fourth reason assigned by the Judge is as follows, viz:

"Another reason for believing that people of color are not considered citizens, is found in the fact, *that when the United States Constitution was adopted, every State except Massachusetts tolerated slavery.*"

Why a *free* black man cannot be a citizen, because another black man is a slave, is a problem we confess ourselves unable to solve.

Such are the arguments, and the only ones adduced by the Judge to support his portentous decision—a decision which tends to strip the free negro of his property and

rights; renders him an alien in the land of his birth; exposes him to contumely and oppression, and prepares the way for his forcible deportation to the shores of Africa.

In order to do full justice to Judge Dagget, it may be proper to notice his answers to objections, since these answers may perhaps be regarded as negative arguments. To the assertion that free blacks own vessels which participate in the peculiar privileges of American shipping, and that they sue in the United States courts, he simply replied, that these claims have never been settled by judicial decisions. To the argument that free blacks may be guilty of high treason, he replied, "So may any person who resides under the government, and enjoys its protection, if he rises up against it."

Having thus fairly stated the Judge's arguments, we will now take the liberty of presenting a few *facts* having an important bearing on this question; facts, be it remembered, that were accessible to the Judge, had he thought it worth while to look for them.

By the fourth of the "Articles of Confederation," it was provided that "the *free inhabitants* of these States shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States." While these articles were under consideration in Congress, it appears from the journals, that on the 25th June, 1778, "the delegates from South-Carolina moved the following amendment *in behalf of their State*—'In Article fourth between the words free inhabitants, insert WHITE.' Passed in the negative—Ayes 2 States—Nays 8 States—1 State divided." Here then was a solemn decision of the revolutionary Congress that free negroes should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States. Judge Dagget thinks that the Constitution of the United States did not regard free blacks as citizens, because in 1788 all the States with one exception tolerated slavery; yet in 1778, Congress decided that free blacks were citizens, although all the States, *without one exception*, tolerated slavery. Ten years after this decision, the new Constitution was formed, and the clause respecting citizenship in the several States was transferred to it from the articles of confederation, with slight verbal alterations. That the clause embraced free

negroes, was settled by the vote we have quoted—no words were added to exclude them; no intimation was given that the new Constitution was disfranchising thousands, and tens of thousands whom Congress had declared were invested with all the rights and immunities of free citizens. No desire was expressed to disfranchise these people, and in the debates on the Constitution, this disfranchisement was never alluded to either in the language of praise or of censure,—and for more than forty years after the adoption of the Constitution, no suspicion existed that it had divested the free blacks of the citizenship they enjoyed under the confederation, till the discovery was made by the agent and orator of the Windham Colonization Society, and juridically announced by the Vice President of the New-Haven Colonization Society.

Judge Dagget *is not aware that free blacks are styled citizens in the laws of Congress or of any of the States!* How laborious has been his search for such laws, we shall now see. Probably the Judge will admit, that when the laws speak of *male* citizens, they recognize the existence of *female* citizens; and most Judges would admit, that where the laws speak of *white* citizens, they recognize the existence of citizens who are *not white*.

The act of Congress of 1792, for organizing the militia, provides for the enrolment of "free *white* male citizens."

The act of Congress of 1803, "to prevent the importation of certain persons into certain States, when by the laws thereof, their admission is prohibited," enacts that masters and captains of vessels shall not "import or bring, or cause to be imported or brought *any negro, mulatto, or other person of color*, not being a native, a CITIZEN, or registered seaman of the United States," &c.

The Constitution of Judge Dagget's own State, limits the right of suffrage to "free *white male* citizens." Why *male* citizens if there are no *female* citizens; and why *white* citizens, if there can be no *colored* ones? Seven or eight State Constitutions, in the same manner recognise the existence of *colored* citizens. Had the Judge extended his inquiries into State laws, to those of Massachusetts, he would have found one prohibiting any negro "other than a CITIZEN of the United States," or a subject of the Empe-

ror of Morocco, from tarrying in the Commonwealth longer than two months. Had he taken the trouble to consult the statute book of New-York, he would have found the following clause in the act relative to elections, viz: "If the person so offering to vote, be a *colored* man, the following oath shall be tendered to him. 'You do swear (or affirm) that you are of the age of twenty-one years, that for three years you have been A CITIZEN OF THIS STATE,'" &c. *Revised Statutes*, I. 134.

Had the Judge condescended to look into the debates of the New-York Convention of 1821, on the question of admitting the free blacks to the right of suffrage, he would have discovered to his astonishment, that the New-York lawyers and judges had no hesitation in admitting these people to be citizens, whatever might be their objections to permitting them to vote. He would have found Chancellor Kent earnestly contending for their rights to citizenship in other States under the federal Constitution. He would have found Rufus King, (no mean authority) concluding an argument in their behalf with these words—"As certainly as the children of any white man are citizens, so certainly the children of the black man are citizens."

Had the Judge opened the Constitution of the State of New-York, he would have met with a clause in the Article respecting the elective franchise, declaring "No man of color, unless he shall have been for three years a CITIZEN OF THIS STATE," &c.

On the 4th of Sept. 1826, Governor Clinton of New-York addressed a letter to the President of the United States, demanding the immediate liberation of Gilbert Horton, a colored man, as "A citizen of this state," he having been imprisoned in Washington as a fugitive slave.

In every State in the union we believe without one exception, a native free-born negro may legally take, hold, and convey real estate. Will Judge Dagget deny this to be an attribute of citizenship?* Will he maintain that any but citizens may exercise the right of suffrage? But in

* Real estate in the city of New-York to the value of $50,000 was lately devised to a free colored man in that city, but according to the Judge he is not a citizen, and of course cannot take by devise. Hence the property must go to the heir at law, or escheat to the State.

eight or ten States free negroes may legally vote. True it is, that in others this privilege is denied to them, but it is not true that they cannot be citizens, who cannot vote. The act of Congress respecting naturalization provides, that in a certain case, the *widow* and *children* of a deceased alien "shall be citizens of the United States."

Impressed colored sailors have been claimed by the National government as "citizens of the United States;" and colored men going to Europe have received passports from the department of State, certifying that they were citizens of the United States.

The proposed Constitution of the new State of Missouri required the Legislature to pass such laws as might be necessary "to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to settle in the State, under any pretext whatever." The Legislature of New-York in reference to this provision, on the 15th November, 1820, "Resolved, if the provisions contained in any proposed Constitution of a new State deny to any CITIZENS of the existing States the privileges and immunities of citizens of such new State, that such proposed Constitution should not be accepted or confirmed, the same, in the opinion of this Legislature, being void by the Constitution of the United States." This resolution was adopted in high party times, by an almost unanimous vote.

The Constitution being submitted to Congress, the article excluding colored citizens, was deemed by the House of Representatives a violation of the national compact, and that body refused to receive Missouri into the Union. A compromise was at last agreed to, and Congress admitted Missouri on the express condition that the offensive clause in her Constitution should never authorize any law by which *any citizen* of any of the States should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled by the Constitution of the United States; and that the Legislature of Missouri should by a solemn Act declare their assent to this condition. The Legislature passed the Act required, and *thereupon* the State became a member of the Union. Yet Judge Dagget is not aware of any Act of Congress recognizing free blacks as citizens!

Admit free negroes to be *men*, and to be *born* free in the United States, and it is impossible to frame even a plausible argument against their citizenship. The only argument on this point, we have ever met with, in which the conclusion is legitimately deduced from the premises, is by a late writer,* who maintains that the negroes are a distinct race of animals. Now it must be conceded, that the negro, if not *a human* being, is not a citizen. We recommend the following reasoning, to the future judicial apologists of the Black Act.

"His" (the negro's) lips are thick—his zygomatic muscles large and full—his jaws large and projecting—his chin retreating—his forehead low, flat and slanting, and as a consequence of this latter character, his eye balls are very prominent, apparently larger than those of white men. All of these peculiarities at the same time contributing to reduce his *facial* angle almost to a level with the BRUTE. If then it is consistent with science to believe, that the mind will be great in proportion to the *size and figure of the brain*, it is equally reasonable to suppose that the acknowledged meanness of the negro's intellect only coincides with the *shape of his head;* or in other words, that his want of capability to receive a complicated education, renders it improper and impolitic that he should be allowed the privileges of CITIZENSHIP in an enlightened country." P. 25, 26. The author is an ultra Colonizationist, and the conclusion to which he arrives is, "let the blacks be removed, *nolens volens*, from among us."

We have dwelt the longer on the Connecticut decision, on account of its immense importance to a numerous class of our fellow countrymen. The victims of a cruel prejudice, and of wicked laws, they especially claimed the aid and sympathy of the humane, when striving to elevate themselves by the acquisition of useful knowledge. But Judge Dagget's doctrine crushes them to the earth. Denounced by a powerful Society, extending its influence over every part of our country as "NUISANCES," and judicially declared not to be citizens, they are delivered over to the tormentors,

* The author of "Evidences against the views of the Abolitionists, consisting of physical and moral proofs of the natural inferiority of the negroes." New-York, 1833.

bound hand and foot. If not *citizens*, they may be dispossessed of their dwellings, for they cannot legally hold real estate—they may be denied the means of a livelihood, and forbidden to buy and sell, or to practise any trade, for they are no longer protected by the Constitution of the United States. Nay, they may be expelled from town to town, and from State to State, till finding no resting place for the soles of their feet, they "CONSENT" to embark for Africa.

However inconclusive we are disposed to regard Judge Dagget's arguments, they were satisfactory to the jury, and a verdict was given against Miss Crandall. The cause was removed to the Connecticut Court of Errors, where all the proceedings were set aside on technical grounds. Certain of the "quiet, peaceable, humane, and inoffensive people of Canterbury," tired with the law's delay, determined on ejecting the school by a summary process, and accordingly mobbed the house by night, and smashed in the windows. It was now discovered, that it was the "persons" of inoffensive females, and not of Mr. Judson and his associates, that were endangered, and the school was abandoned, and thus were the efforts of the admirers of "the benevolent system of Colonization" crowned with entire success.

Soon after Judge Dagget's decision, a most inflammatory petition to the Connecticut legislature, was circulated in New-Haven. We quote from a printed copy. "If they (the negroes) have rights, we humbly hope it is not yet too late to presume that the *white* man also, the only legal native American *citizen*, whom we shall ever consent to acknowledge, may be permitted to suggest that he has *some* rights.—If he (the white man) purchases a piece of land, the first negro, who locates near him, deteriorates its value from 20 to 50 per cent.; for who will have a negro neighborhood, or live in unceasing fear of theft and trespasses. The white man cannot labor upon equal terms with the negro—he is compelled to yield the market to the African, and with his family ultimately becomes the tenant of an Alms-house, or is driven from the State to seek a better lot in the western wilds. THUS HAVE THOUSANDS of our most valuable citizens been *banished* from home and kindred, for the accommodation of the most debased race that the civilized world has ever seen." The petitioners, as

might be supposed, are Colonizationists. "If the negro cannot consistently with our interest or our *feelings* be admitted to the same rights that we enjoy, let him seek a *country* where he will find those who are his equals; *let us unite in aiding him to reach that country.*"

It has never been denied, that good men belong to the Colonization Society; and it ought not to be denied, that even good men are fallible. and subject to erroneous opinions and unwarrantable prejudices. To us it appears unquestionable, that the facts developed in the preceding pages, prove a tendency in the Society to excite in the community, a persecuting spirit towards the free blacks. That the pious, and respectable members of the Society detest the horrible outrages, recently committed upon these people in New-York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, it would be both foolish and wicked to doubt; and yet no one who candidly and patiently investigates the whole subject, can fail to be convinced that these outrages never would have happened, had the Society never existed. The assertion is not hazardous, that of the multitudes composing the negro mobs, there was not an individual, less disposed than the Canterbury town meeting, to laud the "benevolent Colonization system." Every wretch who participated in beating, and plundering free negroes, would rejoice in their expulsion from the country, and in the Society he beholds an instrument for the accomplishment of his wishes.

But how is it possible that the best and the worst of men, can unite in supporting the same institution, with views and motives diametrically opposite? In the first place, these good men, as is abundantly evident from their own confessions, as we shall show more particularly hereafter, are under the influence of very strong prejudices against the colored race, and are seeking in their scheme of Colonization not *merely* the good of the blacks, but their own gratification, and supposed interests, and in many instances, *personal* safety; In the second place, there are in the constitution, three talismanic words, which through the influence of existing prejudices have blinded the eyes of these good men to the *practical* operation of the Society on the colored people. The words are "WITH THEIR CONSENT." It is speciously argued, if the

free blacks *consent* to go to Africa, why not send them? if they do not wish to go, they are at liberty to remain. This argument seems for the most part, to have benumbed the consciences and understandings of Colonizationists, as to the cruel persecution which their Society necessarily encourages. They would be horrified at the idea of their agents scouring the country, and seizing men, women, and children, placing them on the rack, till as joint after joint was dislocated, the suffering wretches *consented* to go to Africa; and yet the Society feels no compunction in countenancing legal oppression, having the same ultimate object in view, and in transporting negroes whose *consent* they well know, has been extorted by the most abominable persecution. Many will feel disposed to deny the truth of these assertions; but not we trust, after seeing the proof of them, which we will now proceed to offer.

We have already adverted to the cruel laws by which these people are oppressed, and kept, purposely kept in ignorance and degradation. Now let it be recollected, that with but few exceptions, these laws have been either enacted, or are kept in force by legislatures, which have formally and in their legislative capacity, passed resolutions in favor of the Society. Fourteen States have thus avowed their attachment to Colonization. Now had these States, including *Connecticut*, *Ohio*, and several of the slave States, repealed their laws against the free blacks, and forborne to enact new ones; their sincerity in approving a plan for the removal of these people *with their consent* would have been less questionable, than it is now, when they persist in a course of policy well calculated to *coerce* that consent. The Society appears to be a particular favorite with the slave States, with the exception of South-Carolina, where its true character seems to have been misunderstood.

Now hear the acknowledgment of a Southern writer. We have before us the fourth edition, 1834, of "A Treatise on the Patriarchal System of Society:" by a Florida slave holder. It is a treatise, in sober earnestness, on the means of perpetuating slavery, and increasing its profits. The author says, p. 12—'Colonization in Africa has been proposed to the free colored people: *to forward which*, a general system of persecution against them, upheld from

the pulpit, has been *legalized* throughout the Southern States." The writer does not explain his allusion to the Southern pulpit; but we may judge of its influence on the condition of the free blacks, from the avowal already quoted from the Southern *Religious* Telegraph, of its repugnance to these people being taught to *read*, because such an acquirement would be an inducement with them to remain in this country; or, in other words, that the better they were treated here, the less likely would they be to consent to go to Africa.

The Legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, it is well known, have made large appropriations for Colonization, and yet these Legislatures are among the most malignant persecutors of the free blacks. The original bill, making the Virginia appropriation, contained a clause for the *compulsory* transportation of free blacks. Let it be recollected, that the Colonization Society has ever been the peculiar favorite of Virginia, and that her most distinguished citizens have been enrolled among its officers; and let us now see *how* Colonization has been promoted in that State. On a motion to strike out the compulsory clause, Mr. Brodnax thus expressed himself *against* the motion:

"IT IS IDLE TO TALK ABOUT NOT RESORTING TO FORCE. *Every body must look to the introduction of force of some kind or other.* If the free negroes are willing to go, they will go; if not willing, THEY MUST BE COMPELLED TO GO. Some gentlemen think it politic not *now* to insert this feature in the bill, though they *proclaim their readiness to resort to it when it becomes necessary;* they think, that, for a year or two, a sufficient number will consent to go, and THEN THE REST CAN BE COMPELLED. For my part, I deem it better to approach the question and settle it at once, and avow it openly. The intelligent portion of the free negroes know very well what is going on. Will they not see your debates? Will they not see that COERCION IS ULTIMATELY TO BE RESORTED TO. I have already expressed it as my opinion, that few, *very few*, will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate, if no *compulsory measures be adopted.* Without it, you will still, no doubt, have applicants for removal equal to your means. Yes, sir, people who will not only consent, but beg you to deport them. But what

sort of consent—a consent extorted by a species of oppression, calculated to render their situation among us insupportable! Many of those who have been already sent off, went with their avowed consent, but under the influence of a more decided compulsion, than any which this bill holds out. I will not express in its fullest extent, the idea I entertain of *what has been done, or what enormities will be perpetrated to induce this class of persons to leave the State.* Who does not know that when a free negro, by crime or otherwise, has rendered himself obnoxious to a neigborhood, how easy it is for a party to visit him one night, take him from his bed and family, and apply to him the gentle admonition of a severe flagellation, to induce him to go away. In a few nights the dose can be repeated, perhaps increased, until, in the language of the physicians, *quantum suff.* has been administered, to produce the desired operation, and the fellow becomes perfectly willing to move away. I have certainly heard, (if incorrectly, the gentleman from Southampton will put me right) that *all the large cargo of emigrants, lately transported from that county to Liberia, all of whom professed to be wil'ing to go, were rendered so by some such ministration as I have described.* Indeed, sir, *all of us* look to FORCE of some kind or other, direct or indirect, moral or physical, legal or illegal."

Another member, Mr. Fisher, in opposing the motion said, "If we wait till the free negroes *consent* to leave the State, we shall wait until time is no more. They never will give their consent. He believed if the compulsory principle were stricken out, this class would *be forced to leave by the harsh treatment of the whites.*"

The compulsory clause was stricken out, but we have the assurance of Mr. Brodnax, that they who objected to it at *present*, were ready to resort to force, whenever it should become necessary; and he tells us, that *all* look to *force* of some kind or other; and he might have added, "all of us look to the Colonization Society as the instrument by which the forcible expulsion of the free negroes is to be effected." Nor do they look in vain. At the very time that the negroes of Southampton were suffering the barbarities he describes, the managers of the Society addressed

their auxiliaries, urging them to increased efforts in raising funds, and alluding to the excitement occasioned by the insurrection at Southampton, remarked, "the free people of color have awakened from their slumber, to a *keen* sense of their situation, and *are ready* in large numbers, to emigrate to the Colony of Liberia." *Address*, 17th *Nov.* 1831.

A large number of these miserable people did indeed *consent* to go to Africa, and the managers well knew *how* their consent was obtained. "I *warned* the managers against this Virginia business," said Mr. Breckenridge in his speech before the Society, "and *yet* they sent out two shiploads of vagabonds, not fit to go to such a place, and that were *coerced* away as truly as if it had been done with a cartwhip."

Hear the confession of Mr. Gurley, the Secretary of the Society, on this subject—"Our friends at Norfolk appealed to us, and said the people were persecuted, and that it was a matter of *humanity* to take them. Our agent said they were *driven* from the county, and had appealed to him and begged to go to Liberia." *Speech before the Society.*

Hear the testimony of Thomas C. Brown from Liberia, given in May 1834. "I am acquainted with several from Southampton County, Virginia, who informed me that they received several hundred lashes from the patroles to make them willing to go. In one instance a man was several times compelled to witness the lashes inflicted on his wife, and then to be severely flogged himself. In another instance a family received information from their white neighbors, that unless they went to Liberia, they should be whipped. Having no means of redress they were obliged to go."

Hear the New-York Colonization Society, when addressing the *public*—"We say to them (the free blacks) we think you may improve your condition by going thither, but if you prefer remaining here, you will be *protected* and *treated with kindness.*" *Proceedings of New-York Col. Soc.*, 1831.

Hear the same Society, when addressing the *Legislature*—"We do not ask that the provisions of our constitution and statute book should be so modified as to *relieve* and exalt the condition of the colored people while they remain

with us. Let these provisions stand in ALL THEIR RIGOR, to work out the ultimate and unbounded *good* of this people." In plain English to coerce their consent to go to Africa. *Memorial to New-York Legislature*, 1832.

We have seen what are the Connecticut and Virginia plans for promoting Colonization—now for the Pennsylvania plan. At a public meeting held in the borough of Columbia, (Penn.) at the Town Hall, 23d August, 1834, the following among other resolutions were unanimously passed.

"Resolved that we will not purchase any articles that can be procured elsewhere, or give our VOTE for any office whatever, to any one who employs negroes to do that species of labor white men have been accustomed to perform

"*Resolved, that the Colonization Society ought to be supported by all the citizens favorable to the removal of the blacks from this country.*"

Here we find the support of the Society avowedly coupled with a most detestable plan of persecution. And now for the practical operation of this meeting of the friends of the "benevolent Colonization system." It appears from a Columbia paper, that one or two nights after the meeting, a mob collected, and partly tore down the dwelling of a black man; they then proceeded to the office of another black man, who had had the presumption to *deal in lumber*, "a species of labor *white* men had been accustomed to perform," broke open the windows and door, rifled the desk, scattered the papers in the street, and attempted to overturn the building. Surely the Society may reasonably anticipate the consent of the blacks to emigrate, when in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Virginia such cogent arguments are used to obtain it. Were the Society governed as it ought to be, by Christian principles, it would shrink from encouraging persecution by accomplishing its object, the exportation of its victims. It would say explicitly to the authors of these atrocities, "you shall gain nothing by your cruelty, through our instrumentality; we will not encourage your farther persecutions, by removing those whose consent you have obtained by such unjustifiable means; we will not to please you,

> "Keep the word of promise to the ear,
> And break it to the hope."

But alas, it has virtually given official notice, that it will transport all whose consent can be obtained, no matter by what barbarity. Hear the declaration of Mr. Gurley, the Secretary of the Society.

"Should they (the free blacks,) BE URGED BY ANY STRESS OF CIRCUMSTANCES to seek an asylum beyond the limits of the United States, humanity and religion will alike dictate that they should be assisted to remove and establish themselves in freedom and prosperity in the land of their CHOICE." *Letter to gentlemen in New-York.*

True it is the free blacks have been rendered by prejudice and persecution, an ignorant and degraded class; but they have retained sufficient intelligence to comprehend the practical character of Colonization philanthropy.

The following resolutions passed by a meeting of free blacks in New-Bedford in 1832, express the unanimous opinion of all their brethren who have intelligence to form, or courage to express an opinion on the subject.

"Resolved that in whatever light we view the Colonization Society, we discover nothing in it but terror, prejudice and oppression. The warm and beneficent hand of philanthropy is not apparent in the system, but the influence of the Society on public opinion is more prejudicial to the interests and welfare of the people of color in the United States, than slavery itself.

"Resolved that the Society, to effect its purpose, the removal of free people of color (not the slaves) through its agents, teaches the public to believe that it is patriotic and benevolent to withhold from us, knowledge and the means of acquiring subsistence; and to look upon us as unnatural and illegal residents in this country, and thus by the force of prejudice, if not by law, endeavor to compel us to embark for Africa, and that too apparently by our own free-will and consent."

And now let us ask what purpose is to be answered by persecuting this people, and keeping them ignorant and degraded? Does any one believe that they will ever be removed from the country? They now amount to 362,000. In 16 years, 2,162 have been sent away, some at first voluntarily, but many of them through coercion. But can cruelty, be it ever so extreme, furnish the Society with funds and

ships sufficient to transport such a multitude? They must, in spite of Connecticut and Virginia persecution remain with us. And if they are to remain with us, what conduct towards them, do policy and religion prescribe? Conduct precisely opposite to that pursued by the Society. We must instruct and elevate them, if we would not be incumbered by an ignorant and depraved population, we must treat them with justice and kindness if we would avoid the displeasure of HIM who has declared "Ye shall not oppress one another."

CHAPTER III.

Influence of the Colonization Society on Africa—Suppression of the Slave Trade.

VERY many, who now despair of extirpating slavery by means of the Society, continue to support it, from a belief that it will confer rich blessings on Africa. These anticipated blessings are the suppression of the slave trade, and the diffusion of religion and civilization. Let us at present inquire, how far the first may reasonably be expected.

In the declarations of the Society, and its members on this subject, we shall find an astonishing medley of ignorance, rash assertion, and honest confession.

"Sierra Leone has repaid Africa with still greater blessings; her example, her influence and efforts, *have given peace and security* to the neighboring coast; and who can estimate the extent of misery prevented, and of happiness conferred, to a population *delivered* from all the horrors of the slave trade." *Fifth Rep.* p. 18.

"The line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, is now under British protection; and from Cape Mount to Tradetown, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, the slave trade *cannot be* prosecuted with the *least hope of success*." *Af. Rep.* II. p. 125—*Editorial.*

"Every colony of civilized inhabitants, established on

that coast, and resolved to stop this trade to the extent of its means, will, at all events, put an end to it for a considerable distance. The colonies of *Sierra Leone*, and of Liberia, both *produce* this effect within their respective vicinities." *Judge Blackford's Address to Indiana Colonization Society. Af. Rep.* VI. p. 66.

It would seem from the following, that the truth of these compliments to Sierra Leone is at least questionable.

"The acting Attorney General of Sierra Leone declared in 1812, on the trial of certain persons, for the infraction of the British abolition laws, that the town of Sierra Leone was 'the heart from which all the arteries and veins of the slave-trading system had for years been animated and supplied.'" *Dr. Thorpe's view of the present increase of the slave trade*, p. 71.

We shall have occasion to refer again to the connection of this colony with the slave trade; but now for Liberia.

"In fact, the Colonization Society proposes the ONLY means by which this accursed trade can ever be effectually stopped; and, indeed, the Colony of Liberia, which this Society has planted, *has already freed about two hundred and fifty miles of that coast from the ravages of these enemies of the human race.*" *Address of J. A. McKinney*, 4th *July*, 1830 *Af. Rep.* VI. p. 231.

"The flag that waves on Cape Montserado, proclaims to the slave trader, that there is one spot, even in Africa, consecrated to freedom *one spot which his polluted foot shall not tread.*" *Speech of G. Smith, V. Prest.* 13th *Jan.* 1831. 14th *Rep.*

"Did we desire to put an end to these outrages upon humanity, (the slave trade) the Colonization Society offers itself as the ONLY efficient means. The slaver has dared to show herself *but once* within the limits of Liberia, and then she received the rewards of her temerity." *Proceedings of N. Y. Col. Soc.* 1832.

"No slaver now dares come *within one hundred miles of the settlement*" *Rev. Dr. Hawkes' Speech at Col. Meeting in New-York, Oct.* 1833.

The above are specimens of the assertions which have been rashly made, and credulously received. Let us now attend to the honest confessions on this subject, and let the

reader compare them with the foregoing assertions. That these confessions may be better understood, it may be well to mention, that the territory of Liberia commences at Gallinas River, and extends about two hundred and eighty miles southwardly along the coast, and embraces Cape Montserado, Cape Mount, Tradetown and Bushrod Island.

"The records of the colony afford abundant and unequivocal testimony of the *undiminished* extent and atrocity of the slave trade. From eight to ten, and even fifteen vessels have engaged at the same time in this odious traffick, *almost within reach of the guns of Liberia*, and as late as July 1825, there were existing contracts for eight hundred slaves to be furnished in the short space of four months, WITHIN EIGHT MILES OF MONROVIA." *Rep.* X. p. 44, 1827.

"From all I can learn, I am induced to believe, that the slave trade is now carried on at the Gallinas, between Cape Mount and Sierra Leone, and to the leeward of this place, to a *greater extent* than it has been for many years." *Letter from R. Randall, Agent at Liberia*, 28th *Dec.* 1828. *Af. Rep.* V. p. 4.

"*Frequently within sight of the colonial factories*, the slave traders carry on their operations. The slave trade never has been carried on with more activity, than it is at this time. There is established at Gallinas, a regular slave agent, who furnishes slaves to the slave vessels. He receives his goods from trading vessels, and it is said principally from an American vessel. He purchases large numbers of slaves, and furnishes the slave vessels, who principally bring out specie. These vessels run up and down the coast until a convenient opportunity offers, when they run in and get their cargoes of slaves. Some of them are captured, and I have been informed, they have been bought afterwards by their *original owners*, and that the same vessel has frequently been bought and sold several times." *Letter from R. Randall, Agent at Liberia, Feb.* 1829. *Af. Rep.* V. p. 148. The same letter states the astounding fact, that "Mamma, the proprietress of Bushrod Island, just in front of Monrovia, whose town is not more than a *quarter of a mile* from our settlements on

that island," was engaged in the slave trade, and had sold several hundred. p. 150.

"It is painful to state, that the managers have reason to believe that the slave trade is still prosecuted to a great extent, and with circumstances of *undiminished* atrocity. The fact that much was done by Mr. Ashmun to banish it from the territory, under the colonial jurisdiction, is unquestionably true, but it *now exists even on the territory*, and a little to the north and south of Liberia, it is seen in its true characters of fraud, and rapine, and blood." *Rep.* XIII. p. 13.—1830.

Now, be it recollected, that it was *after* this official annunciation by the Board of Managers, that the slave trade existed even on the territory of Liberia, that the African Repository published without contradiction the vaunt of Mr. McKinney already quoted, that the Colony had freed about two hundred and fifty miles of the coast of the slave trade!

"I hope the Board will adopt some more effectual measures for suppressing the slave trade *within the territory of Liberia.* Since the death of Don Miguel of Bassa, Peter Blanco, a Spanish slave trader, for some years a resident in the Gallinas, has opened a slave factory at Grand Cape Mount. Such a thing ought not to be, as it is only forty-five miles from here. I am sorry to remark, that this abominable traffick is carried on with the utmost activity, all along the coast. Capt. Parker, during his trading at the Gallinas of about three weeks, saw no less than nine hundred shipped." *Letter from A. D. Williams, Agent of the Society at Liberia,*—10th *Sept.* 1830. *Af. Rep.* VI. p. 275.

"With *undiminished* atrocity and activity is this odious traffick now carried on all along the African coast, slave factories are established in *the immediate vicinity of the colony*," &c. *Rep.* XIV. p. 11.—1831.

"The cursed practice of slave trading, I regret to say, is still carried on *between this and Sierra Leone*" *Letter of Rev. Mr. Cox; Monrovia,* 8th *of April,* 1833. *Af. Rep.* IX. p. 252.

Such are the refutations furnished by the Society itself, of all its boasts about suppressing the slave trade;

and yet we are told that the Society is the ONLY means of putting an end to the traffick!

It seems never to occur to these gentlemen, that the abolition of slavery would, as a matter of course, put an immediate and total stop to the traffick!* But on what grounds do they expect they can suppress the trade? By planting colonies of ignorant and depraved negroes on the African coast? Every slave factory is of itself a colony, and for the most part, of intelligent *white* men; and yet it is supposed, that negro colonists, who, when in America, were "the most depraved of the human race," will be too virtuous to yield to the temptations of a lucrative commerce. Why, let us ask, should the free negroes of America, who Mr. Clay assures us, are "of all descriptions of our population, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned," have, when removed to Liberia, a greater abhorrence for the iniquity of the slave trade, than their brethren of Sierra Leone? If the slave trade has been *actually promoted* by the latter colony, why will it be suppressed by the former?

The following facts are gathered from documents published by the British Parliament in 1832. Chief Justice Jeffcott of Sierra Leone, in 1830, delivered a charge to the Grand Jury, in which he declared that he had received credible information, that persons in the colony were engaged in aiding and abetting the slave trade, and fitting out ships for the trade. He asserted, that the colony "established for the *express purpose* of suppressing this vile traffick, was made a *mart for carrying it on.*" He also stated, that within the last ten years, twenty-two thousand Africans had been located in the colony by the British Government, at an expense of nearly seven millions sterling, and that now there are not to be found in the colony above seventeen or eighteen thousand men! These extraordinary and appalling declarations, attracted the attention of the British Government, who appointed a Commission to inquire into their truth. The Commissioners in

*To what extent the importation of slaves into the United States is now carried, we are ignorant. In 1819, Mr. Middleton of South-Carolina, stated on the floor of Congress, that, in his opinion, 13,000 Africans were annually smuggled into the Southern States. Mr. Wright of Virginia, estimated the number at 15,000.

their report, dated 26th October of the same year, state that, from the testimony taken before them, "they cannot but conclude, that the nefarious system of *kidnapping* has prevailed in this colony to *a much greater extent*, than was even alluded to in the charge of the Chief Justice." From the testimony published with the report, it appears that the slave vessels are in the habit of bringing out specie, for the purchase of supplies on the coast; and that "Mr. Hilary Teague, who resides at the *American settlement at Liberia*, at Cape Mesurado, near the Gallinas, and who trades between *that* place (Gallinas, a slave factory) and Sierra Leone, purchasing some goods from a Mr. Lake, a merchant in the colony, produced a bag containing about one thousand dollars, on which was marked the name of the Spanish schooner Manzanares. This vessel took in her cargo at the Gallinas, and was subsquently condemned as a slave ship."

Here we find a colonist of Liberia, trading at a slave factory, and afterwards exhibiting $1000 in specie, received in all human probability from a slave ship. It is surely unreasonable to suppose, that petty colonial merchants will refuse to sell supplies to slave ships for specie. Indeed every new colony on the coast, will, while slavery continues, give new facilities to this accursed commerce; nor can the government at home, prevent avaricious and unprincipled colonists from participating in it. No one can question the desire of Great Britain to purge Sierra Leone of this enormity, and yet we find the following statement in the English Monthly Quarterly Review, for May, 1833. "One of the Schoolmasters in Sierra Leone, has been tried for *selling* some of his scholars. There were lately upwards of one hundred liberated Africans, who were kidnapped from Sierra Leone, and were conveyed to a place near the banks of the river Pongos. Here they were detained, till an opportunity occurred of re-shipping them as slaves."

CHAPTER IV.

Influence of the Colonization Society on Africa—Diffusion of Civilization and Christianity.

ALTHOUGH the Society is not a missionary institution, builds no churches, employs no ministers, and distributes no Bibles or tracts, yet it has persuaded the public, that Liberia is a missionary establishment, and the radiating point, from which a flood of light and holiness is to spread over Africa. So confidently and constantly has the *missionary* influence of the Society been asserted, that many of the members unfeignedly believe it; and their contributions are lavished, and their prayers are offered for the regeneration of Africa by emigrants, who, when in the United States, were denounced as "a curse and contagion wherever they reside." Let us attend to the stupendous objects the Society proposes to accomplish.

"It would illuminate a continent. It would publish the name of Christ on the dark mountains of Africa, and the burning sands of the desert. It would kindle up holiness and hope among uncounted tribes, whose souls are as black with crime and misery, as are the forms of matter that veil them." *Af. Rep.* I. 164, *Editorial.*

"The little band at Liberia, who are spreading over the wilderness around them, a strange aspect of life and beauty, are in *every sense a missionary station.* Every ship freighted from our shores with their suffering kindred, will be freighted also with the *heralds of the cross.* You will see the light breaking in upon one and another dark habitation of cruelty. The night of heathenism will depart. One tribe after another will come to the light of Zion, and the brightness of her rising. Ethiopia will awake and rise from the dust, and look abroad on the day and stretch forth her hand to God. The light will spread and kindle and brighten till ALL THE FIFTY MILLIONS of Africa are brought to the glorious liberty of the sons of God." *Address to the Kentucky Col. Society by Mr. Breckenridge.*

"They (the emigrants) go to unchain MILLIONS of slaves fettered in the bondage of death." *Af. Rep.* IX. 198.

"Like the star in the East, which announced the

Saviour to the astonished Magi, it (the Society) points to the advent of the same Redeemer, coming in the power of his spirit to roll away the darkness of a thousand generations." *Speech of Mr. Frelinghuysen, Vice President.*

"This Society proposes to add another regenerated CONTINENT to our globe, and ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS to the family of civilized man." *Speech of Elliot Cresson before the Society. Af. Rep.* IX. 360.

The number of Agents to be employed, are proportioned to the mighty work to be achieved.

"The Society proposes to send out not *one* or *two* pious members of Christianity into a foreign land, but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years in one view of its scheme, 6,000, in another 56,000 missionaries of the descendants of Africa itself, to communicate the benefits of our religion and the arts." *Mr. Clay's speech before Kentucky Col. Society. Af. Rep.* VI. 24.

It will be observed that these missionaries are to communicate the benefits of both *religion* and the *arts*, and they are to be taken from two classes. The 6,000 are to be the annual increase of the free negroes; the 56,000 are to be manumitted slaves. The character of the first class is thus given by Mr. Clay, in the *same* speech in which he proposes their employment:

"Of all descriptions of our population, and *of either* portion of the African race, the free people of color are by far as a class, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned." As this seems rather an unpromising character for teachers of religion, we presume this portion are to be confined to instruction in the *arts;* and that the explanation of religious mysteries, and the inculcation of moral duties, are to be entrusted to the 56,000 just released from bondage. Of the peculiar opportunities afforded them by the laws of the slave States, for fitting themselves for their new vocation, we may speak hereafter. Of this "great company of preachers," about three thousand have already set up their tabernacle at Liberia. We might naturally suppose, that a colony of *missionaries* would be "a holy city," a sort of New Jerusalem, and such we are assured it is. We have heard of "the *poetry* of philanthropy," as applied to the sympathy expressed by abolitionists for the sufferings of the

slaves; the following extracts prove, that there is a poetry of Colonization which

"Can give to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

"It (the colony) is already to the African tribes, like a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid. *A thousand barbarians*, who have long made merchandize of their brethren, and been regarded themselves as the objects of a bloody and accursed traffick, come within its gates, *and are taught the doctrine of immortality,—the religion of the Son of God.*" *Af. Rep.* VIII. p. 14,—1825.

Here we have a solemn and official annunciation by the Board of Managers, of one of the most extraordinary facts ever recorded in the annals of missionary exertions. It appears from official documents, that at the date of this report, the whole number of emigrants *could not* have been more than 242, and had probably been reduced by death below that number; and of this number, a large portion were of course, women and children. Yet this little band of Christian missionaries, just escaped from the ignorance and vice in which they had been enveloped in America, and still struggling for existence in a sickly climate, and amid all the hardships and privations of a recent settlement in a savage land; casting aside the fear of man, and with a faith almost miraculous in divine protection, admit within their gates an army of barbarians, four times the number of the whole of their little community; barbarians too, who had long been engaged in a bloody and accursed traffick, making merchandize of their brethren; and these barbarians suddenly divested of their savage character, sit humbly at the feet of the newly arrived messengers of Heaven, and the natives of *Africa*, receive instruction in the doctrine of immortality, and the religion of the Son of God, from lips that had never uttered any other language, than broken English! It is singular that in the subsequent documents of the Society, we hear nothing farther of these thousand barbarians. How many became converts to the religion in which they were instructed; how long their attendance on the missionaries was continued, and why it was afterwards

totally suspended, are points on which no information has been vouchsafed to us.

It is natural we should wish to know more of these wonderful teachers, and fortunately we are presented with the following picture of them by an eye witness.

"The holy Author of our religion and salvation, has made the hearts of a large proportion of these people, the temples of the divine Spirit. I have seen the proudest and profanest foreigners that ever visited the colony, trembling with amazement and conviction, almost literally in the descriptive phraseology of St. Paul, find the secrets of their hearts made manifest, and falling down upon their faces, worship God, and report that God is in the midst of these people of a truth." *Ashmun's letter*, 31st. *December*, 1825. *Af. Rep.* II. 90.

We should certainly conclude from these accounts, that these holy men were blessed with

> "Composed desires, affections ever even,
> Tears that delight, and sighs that waft to Heaven."

Yet strange to tell, we are presented with the following perplexing statement, by the same eye witness:

"About twelve months since it (the colony) had entirely given way, as the committee are but too well apprised, to a blind and furious excitement of the worst passions, caused by a somewhat unfortunate policy operating on *ignorance and invincible prejudice*. During my absence for health, the people were obliged to taste some of the bitter fruits of *anarchy*, and by the singular mercy of God, only escaped those *tragedies of blood*, which can find no modern parallel, but in the history of the civil murders and devastations of St. Domingo." *Ashmun's letter*, 15th *January*, 1825. *Af. Rep.* I. 23.

The excitement here alluded to, and its unhappy consequences occurred, it will be seen by a comparison of dates, in 1824; and that wonderful moral change, which rendered the hearts of a large proportion of these people the temples of the Divine Spirit, must have been effected in 1825. Yet it was in the *beginning* of 1825, that the managers announced at their annual meeting at Washington,

the marvellous fact of the instruction of the thousand barbarians within the gates of the colony.

In March, 1825, the Editor of the Af. Rep., gives us the following delightful intelligence:

"The eye of the stranger is struck with the religious aspect of the settlement. He beholds on Cape Montserado, standing in lonely beauty, a Christian village. There flourish the virtues of the gospel, defended by the Almighty, from the influences of paganism, cherished and refreshed by the dews of his grace." *Af. Rep.* I. 5.

The secret of this surprising exhibition of Christian loveliness and purity, is thus explained.

"It is well known that this little community is made up of SELECTED INDIVIDUALS, and that the Board have *ever* required of those seeking their patronage, satisfactory evidence that their *morals were pure, and their habits industrious. Hence* this settlement has from its origin exhibited great decency and sobriety, respect for the Sabbath, and the other peculiar duties and ordinances of our religion. It has thus shed a benign and sacred light upon the heathen, and the feelings of the profane and lawless stranger as he treads upon Cape Montserado are subdued into unwonted seriousness." *Af. Rep.* IX. p. 19. 1826.

But again we are perplexed, by the assertion of the Governor of the Colony.

"For at least two years to come, *a much more discriminating selection of settlers must be made than* EVER HAS BEEN —even in the first and second expeditions by the Elizabeth and Nautilus in 1820 and 1822—or the prosperity of the colony will inevitably and rapidly decline." *Ashmun's letter 3d March* 1828. *Af. Rep.* IV. 86.

In the 11th Report, the managers assure us:

"No village perhaps in our own land exhibits less which is offensive, and more that is gratifying to the eye of the Christian, than the village of Monrovia. Crimes are almost unknown, and the universal respect manifested for the Sabbath, and the various institutions and duties of Christianity have *struck the natives with surprise*, and excited the admiration of foreigners." *Af. Rep.* XI. p. 14, 1828.

But how are we to reconcile this, with the following statements?

"Permit me to say, sir, there must be *a great revolution* in this colony, before it can have a salutary influence on the surrounding natives; that is, before it can have a *moral* influence over them." *Letter from Rev. G. M. Erskine*, 3d *April*, 1830. *Af. Rep.* VI. 121.

"We stand in much need of a work house, and some acres of land enclosed, for confining licentious females and other disorderly and lazy persons." *Letter from A. D. Williams, Agent*, 10th *Sep.* 1830. *Af. Rep.* VI. 275.

"There are several enterprising merchants here—It is not however, a favorable spot for small storekeepers and wandering pedlars, who I am told, generally become stript of what they may have got, and in wandering about in the interior for small traffick, *disgust the natives by their immoralities.*" *Letter from Lieut. Page to Sec. of Navy*, 9th *April*, 1832. *Af. Rep.* VIII. 141.

"With respect to the character of the people composing this expedition, I regret to be compelled to state, that they are, with the exception of the Pages from Virginia, and a few others, the *lowest and most abandoned of their class.* Our respectable colonists themselves, are becoming alarmed at the *great number* of ignorant and *abandoned* characters that have arrived here within the last twelve months." *Letter from Dr. Mechlin, Agent, Sept.* 1832. *Af. Rep.* VIII. 298.

"Let them (the friends of the Society in America) know, that to extend knowledge and promote sound piety, a quire of paper is at the present moment of more worth than a Bible. Bibles and Tracts have been sent here, and either *used as waste paper*, or made food for worms—why? Not because the people despise either, but because we have not a *reading* population. Until this is secured, *Bibles would be of more value in China. Letter from Rev. J. B. Pinney, Agent*, 7th *March*, 1834.

"On the 17th June, 1833, Mr. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, in a speech at a Colonization meeting in New-York, hazarded the following most extraordinary assertion, "TEN THOUSAND NATIVES had placed themselves under the protection of the colony, *receiving from it, instruction in civilization.*"

The Society at its annual meeting 20th January, 1834,

unanimously "Resolved that this Society *is* cheered in its enterprise by the beneficent effects which its operations *have* upon the natives of Africa itself." *Af. Rep.* IX. 360.

On the 20th February, 1834, the Rev. Mr. Pinney, now governor of Liberia, thus writes from the colony.

"The colonists are very ignorant of every thing about the *interior*. Except the tribes along the coast, nothing at all is known, and *of them*, little but their manner of traffick. *Nothing has been done for the natives hitherto by the Colonists*, except to educate a few, who were in their families in the capacity of *servants*." Mr. Pinney appears not to have been acquainted with the fact, that "a thousand barbarians" had been taught the doctrine of immortality within the gates of the colony, or that "ten thousand natives" had received instruction in civilization!

Had any Missionary Society been guilty of such extravagant anticipations and such gross and palpable contradictions, the whole community would have joined in loading it with ridicule and odium.

It is deeply to be regretted, that some distinguished Colonizationists, have of late attempted to lead the public to hope, that in *future* no emigrants but such as are of good *moral character*, will be permitted to go to Liberia. It is difficult to reconcile such an attempt with moral rectitude, unless it be accompanied with a total and avowed abandonment of Colonization as a means of relieving the country from the nuisance of a free colored population, and from the guilt and curse of slavery. Of the gross inconsistency, (not to use a harsher term) of Colonizationists on this subject, the proceedings of a Colonization meeting in Cincinnati, Oct. 31, 1834, afford a striking example. On motion of the Rev. Dr. Beecher, the following resolution was unanimously adopted. "Resolved that the establishment of colonies in Africa, by the *selection* of colored persons who are *moral, industrious* and *temperate*, is eminently calculated of itself to advance the cause of civilization and religion among the benighted native population of that continent; as well as to afford facilities to the various Missionary Societies for the prosecution of their pious designs."

This resolution would be utterly without point or meaning were it not laudatory of the plans of the Colonizaion Society;

and no person of common intelligence would conjecture from the resolution, that the "selection" mentioned in it, was utterly at variance with, and directly opposed to the avowed *objects* of the Society. Slavery in our country cannot be abolished by Colonization, without removing more than two millions of slaves; and how is it possible to remove this number, and yet select for colonists only "the moral, industrious and temperate?" Nevertheless, the meeting "Resolved that the friends of humanity and the friends of God, should cherish the Colonization Society, because of its influence TO ABOLISH SLAVERY, and advance the best interests of the African race."

Pages might be quoted to show that the professed ultimate object of the Society, is to remove the *whole* colored population to Africa, without any *selection* whatever. In 1824, a Committee of the Board, in an official report declared, that the national interests "required that the *whole mass* of free persons of color, and those who may become such with the consent of their owners, should be progressively removed from us, as fast as their own consent can be obtained, and as the means can be found for their removal and for their proper establishment in Africa." *Af. Rep.* VII. p. 113.

"But the Colonization Society hopes for and aims at much more—the abolition of slavery, and the removal of ALL the black people from the United States." *Proceedings of New-York Col. Soc.* 2nd *Anniversary.*

We have remarked that EXPEDIENCY is unhappily the governing principle of the Society, and to this principle must be attributed the recent *talk* about *select* emigrants.

Funds are low, and temperance is popular, and all at once we hear that the colonies in Liberia are to be temperance colonies; and that the emigrants are to be "moral, industrious, and temperate." And so we are to send the good negroes away, and keep the bad at home! And yet, by transporting the few moral, industrious, and temperate individuals that can be selected in a vicious and ignorant population of between two and three millions, we are to abolish slavery!! Surely Colonizationists, by holding such language pay but a poor compliment to their own candor, or the common sense of the

community. The truth is there never has been, and never will be a selection made. The two *last* cargoes sent by the Society, were by the public confession of Mr. Breckenridge "two cargoes of vagabonds." Will it be pretended that all the coercion exerted to induce the blacks to emigrate, operates only on the good; or that it is the drunken and profligate who find favor in the eyes of the friends of Colonization, and are permitted to remain in peace and quietness at home!

The Society itself has borne abundant testimony to the depravity of the free blacks, and all Colonizationists with scarcely an exception zealously maintain that the slaves are unfit for freedom; and yet as we have seen, it is proposed to transport them all to Africa. And now we would ask, on what principle of common sense, on what record of experience does the Society expect that a population which in a land of Bibles and churches, is sunk in vice and ignorance, will, when landed on the shores of Africa, and immersed in all the darkness of paganism, become on a sudden, a Christian society, and employed in teaching thousands of barbarians "the doctrine of immortality, the religion of the Son of God!"

Pious Colonizationists would themselves be shocked at the proposal of disgorging on the islands of the Pacific the tenants of our prisons, under the pretext of instructing the natives in "religion and the arts;" and yet they flatter themselves, that emigrants, who, by their own showing are less intelligent, and scarcely less guilty than our prisoners, will by undergoing a salt water baptism, land in Africa wholly regenerated; and qualified as heralds of the cross, to convert millions and millions to the faith of the Gospel. So monstrous an absurdity, can be the offspring only of a deep and sinful prejudice. Hatred to the blacks can alone delude us into the belief that in banishing them from our soil, we are doing God service. Were it not for this hatred, we should feel and acknowledge, that Christianity must be propagated in Africa, as elsewhere, by faithful and enlightened missionaries. If the climate or other circumstances require that such missionaries be of African descent, it is our duty to educate them, before we send them. But alas, instead of educating negroes, we wish to keep

them in ignorance, and yet pretend that our *nuisances* will, in Africa, be converted into blessings. But if Colonizationists are so perverse as to believe that a bitter fountain will send forth sweet waters, let them contemplate the following picture of Sierra Leone, drawn by a devoted friend of the Society.

"Including the suburbs of the town, (Free Town) there are some six or eight thousand inhabitants, about eighty of whom are white.—The morals of Free Town are *fearfully bad.* As in colonies too generally, where the restraints of home, of friends, of those we love, and those we fear are broken off, licentiousness prevails to a most lamentable degree. The abomination is not committed under the cover of midnight, nor am I speaking of the natives whose early habits might plead some apology for them—it is done at noonday, and to use a figure, the throne as well as the footstool has participated in the evil; and the evil, I am told, is increasing. Sanctioned as it is, by those who take the lead in the society, and who ought to form the morals of the colony, avarice has been added to lust, and those who otherwise might have been virtuous, have sold themselves to work wickedness.—Humanity and philanthropy which have struggled so hard and so long to help this degraded country, must weep and cover itself with sackcloth, to see its best interests so wickedly perverted!" *Letter from Rev. M. B. Cox, Methodist Missionary in Liberia. Af. Rep.* IX. p. 209.

There is still an important consideration, which does not seem to have engaged the attention of Colonizationists. It is proposed to transport to Africa, our whole colored population, and of course to found a mighty nation in Liberia. But how long will this nation remain dependent on the Board of Managers at Washington? Instead of millions, suppose the colony to be only ten thousand strong. Who is to govern it, who defend it, and fight its battles? Were the colony now to declare independence, how would the Society reduce it to subjection; and if not subjected, what becomes of the mighty plan of making it the receptacle of our slaves and free negroes? Suppose the colonists like their brethren of Sierra Leone engage in the slave-trade, who is to punish or control them? Suppose in time

they find the influx of emigrants inconvenient, and refuse to admit them, who shall coerce them?

On the whole, the system of African Colonization is full of absurdities and contradictions, and evils, which are not seen, because they are concealed by a veil of prejudice. It is a system which strikingly exposes the folly of human wisdom, when opposed to the precepts of the Gospel of Christ. Had America possessed that fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of true wisdom, slavery would long since have ceased from among us, and our colored brethren, treated with Christian kindness, instead of being nuisances, would have been valued and useful citizens; and our churches, instead of uniting to send "cargoes of vagabonds" to Africa under the guise of Christian missionaries, would have aided the descendants of her sons, furnished by us with all the stores of human learning, and selected for their piety and zeal, in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, throughout that benighted continent.

CHAPTER V.

Influence of the Society on Slavery.

In 1822, a committee was appointed by a public meeting in Boston, to report on the character and tendency of the American Colonization Society. The committee in their report remark:

"It is only from the belief which the committee very cordially entertain, that the active members of the American Colonization Society are perfectly disposed to frame their measures with reference to the entire suppression of the slave trade, and to a gradual and prudent, but COMPLETE EMANCIPATION of those now held in slavery, that we can regard the Society as having any claim upon the sympathy or assistance of the people of New-England."

Such were the expectations by which northern philanthropists were at first induced to countenance the Society. There is scarcely to be found a Colonization article or

speech that does not warrant these expectations, that does not promise the exertion by the Society of a mighty MORAL INFLUENCE in abolishing slavery.

Now it is obvious that such an influence must operate in one or more of the following ways, viz :

1. On the *conscience* of the slave holder, convincing him that slave holding is sinful, and that his Maker requires him to liberate his slaves.

2. On the *reputation* of the slave holder, making him feel, that his standing in the community is lowered by keeping his fellow men in bondage, and enjoying, without compensation, the fruits of their labor.

3. On the *interests* of the slave holder, persuading him, that emancipation would enhance his property.

4. On the *fears* of the slave holder, alarming him for the safety of himself and family.

5. By the power of *example*, showing the slave holder, by the conduct of others whom he esteems, what his own ought to be.

We flatter ourselves, that we shall prove, that the influence of the Society is in *no degree* exerted in any one of these ways, except the last. Of the *extent* of this last mode, we shall speak hereafter.

It will not be pretended, that the Society addresses itself to the *conscience* of the slave holder. Such addresses are not authorised by the constitution, and have been repeatedly disclaimed by the Society. But when the Society disclaims appeals to the conscience, it disclaims the most powerful of all means for the removal of slavery.

"We never made any headway," says a British writer, "in the abolition of the slave trade, and of slavery, till it was taken up by the religious men, prosecuted as a concern of the soul, with reference to eternity, and by motives drawn from the cross of Christ" Mr. G. Smith, a most estimable officer of the Society, remarked, in a temperance address :

"I never heard that temperance had any success any where, unless the appeals in its favor were made directly to the *consciences* of the rum dealers. Strike out these, and it is vain that you seek for other means to propel the triumphant car of temperance. Hitch to that car, health,

economy, expediency, the public good, what you please, if you leave out the appeal to men's consciences, you have, as we say at the North, *a weak team.*" And surely a more weak, broken-winded, good for nothing team, than Colonization, was never hitched to the car of abolition. How, and in *what direction*, does this team draw? It is amusing to observe how wary Colonizationists are of approaching this question. They dwell on the political evils of slavery, and call on religion and patriotism for aid in removing them; and when, in breathless attention, we are waiting to learn by *what process* the moral influence of the Society is to deliver us from the curse of slavery, in a moment the scene shifts to Africa, and we are entertained with visions of its future bliss and glory. It may be safely asserted, that not one Colonization writer or orator in a hundred, ever attempts to explain how the Society is to induce masters to liberate their slaves. Occasionally, however, the effort is made. Mr. Knapp, in a speech before the Society, thus explains the matter:

"In my opinion, it (slavery) may be cured in *less* time than it has been growing up. Open once the facilities of emigration—show an object for it, and, like any other business, it will increase to any extent we may wish. The natural world has yielded her impossibilities, as they were thought, to the efforts of enlightened men; why should we not be as successful in the moral? A fair and permanent road is now built over the Alps, the passage of which was once considered as sufficient to give immortality to the successful adventurer." 10th *Rep.* p. 6.

So, it seems, that if we open once the facilities of emigration, that is, provide ships, &c., the planters will at once call in their slaves from their cotton and sugar fields, and ship them to Africa; but *why* they will do so, is a problem, which, after all, Mr. Knapp omits to solve.

"This work, (Colonization) as it advances, tends to improve the character, and elevate the condition of the free people of color, and thus to take away one standing and very influential argument against both individual and general abolition. This, to an unprejudiced mind, is one of the most obvious tendencies of African Colonization. Elevate the character of the free people of color, let it be

seen that they are men indeed; let the degrading associations which follow them be broken up by the actual improvement of their character as a people, and negro slavery must wither and die." *New-Haven Christian Spectator for March*, 1833.

As the Society utterly disclaims all attempts to elevate the free blacks *here*, the meaning of the above is, that when the slave holder in America learns that black men in Liberia are intelligent and respectable, he will release his slaves from their fetters. We wonder if similar intelligence from the West Indies will produce the same effect: if so, it may be obtained at far less expense of time and money, than from Africa.

Let us now attend to the process by which an excellent Vice President of the Society, supposes slavery is to be abolished.

"Let Africa *begin* to enter upon the redemption of her character, which guilty Christian nations have for centuries combined to keep down to the lowest point of degradation, and she will begin to be respected, and the condition of her outcast children on our shores, will awaken a livelier sympathy. And when Africa shall have put on the garment of civilization, and the influence of her regeneration shall be *felt throughout this land*, our most tenacious, and obstinate slave holder, will shrink from the relation he bears to her children. The poor creature whom he formerly regarded as a few removes above the brute, will now present himself before the new associations of his master's mind, as his fellow man, and his equal, and the slave will be permitted to go free." *Speech of G. Smith, Esq.* 14th *Rep.* p. 11.

It would seem, that at the close of the fourteenth year of the Society's labors, Africa had not yet, in the opinion of Mr. Smith, *begun* to enter upon the redemption of her character. How soon a *beginning* is to be made, and in how many years, or centuries, the Society expects to complete the work of dressing Africa in the garment of civilization, we are not informed. But when this work shall have been finished, and when it shall have produced a general sensation (how strong and of what kind we know not) throughout America, THEN the motions of the sugar-

mill and cotton-gin are to be arrested, and the fetters are to fall from the slave Why? Because the commands of God, and the interests and safety of the master, require it? No; but because the master will *then* make the discovery, that his poor slave, but little removed as he is from the brute, is still his fellow man, and his equal! This is certainly a most marvellous process for teaching the Southern planters a plain, simple truth; a truth, too, which was proclaimed by their own representatives, so long ago as 1776, in the declaration of independence, but which unfortunately seems not to have had the influence which Mr. Smith supposes it will exert, when taught by the regeneration of Africa.

We may now judge a little of the elements of that moral influence, which a Christian Society exerts against slavery. Conscience, and the word of God, death, judgment and eternity, enter not into its composition.

"The Society," declares one of its vice presidents, "tends, and may powerfully tend, to rid us *gradually* and entirely in the United States, of slaves and slavery." *R. G. Harper. See* 14th *Rep.* p. 23.

Let us now see *how gradually* this riddance is to be effected.

"We have never supposed, that the Society's plan could be accomplished in a few years; but, on the contrary, have *boasted*, that it will demand a CENTURY for its fulfillment." *Mr. Fitzhugh, Vice President. Af. Rep.* IV. p. 344.

It may seem singular that philanthropists should exult in the conviction, that their plan for doing good would require a century for its fulfillment; but the benevolence of the "Colonization system" is peculiar.

"There are those, sir, who ask, 'and could not a quarter of a century cease and determine these two great evils' (free blacks and slaves.) You and I, my dear sir, on whom the frost of time has fallen rather perceptibly, would say a CENTURY." *Speech of Mr. Curtiss.* 13th *Rep.* p. viii.

"The sudden abolition of slavery in a community where it existed to any considerable extent, would be *pernicious.* But this is danger which can occasion *no alarm,*

admitting that the Colonization scheme contemplates the ultimate abolition of slavery, yet that result could *only* be produced by the slow and gradual operation of CENTURIES." *Af. Rep.* I. p. 217.

"It is not expected to remove so great an evil as two millions of slaves suddenly: *if* it can be accomplished in a CENTURY, it will be as much as the most sanguine of our friends ought to expect." *Judge Best's Address to the Indiana Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* IX. p. 71.

"It is not the work of a day, nor a year; it is not the work of one time, nor of two; but it is one which will now commence, and may continue for AGES. *View of Slavery, by Humanitas, a Colonization advocate. Baltimore,* 1822.

Thus we see that the continuance of slavery, with all its licentiousness, ignorance and suffering, for at least a century to come, is calmly contemplated by zealous and distingished Colonizationists. But still the Society expects ultimately to abolish slavery. Let us therefore inquire what it must effect to fulfill this expectation.

The increase of our slave population, from the census of 1820 to that of 1830, was 472,568. Estimating the future increase at the same ratio, it will be for the ten years ending in 1840, 617,263; and for the ten years ending in 1850, 806,762. The *annual* increase is *now* upwards of 54,000, and the *daily* excess of births over deaths, 147. In 1850, it will be 80,676 annually, and 221 daily!

From this statement, it will be perceived, what must be the power of the "moral influence" of the Society to remove to Africa merely the *annual increase* of our slave population; and hence we may judge of its ability to deliver the country from slavery. In forming an opinion on this subject, we shall be further aided by inquiring what advantages the Society has enjoyed, and what have been the results of its labors.

Never has any voluntary association enjoyed in an equal degree the applause and patronage of both state and church. Men of all parties, and of all religions, and of no religion, have zealously espoused its cause. On the roll of its officers, are emblazoned the names of the most popular

leaders of rival political parties. The Legislatures of fourteen States have passed resolutions in its favor. The highest ecclesiastical judicatories, of almost every religious denomination, have recommended it to the patronage of their churches. Politicians have declaimed, ministers have preached, and Christians have prayed in its behalf. To promote its objects, liberal contributions have been made from the coffers of the nation, and the pockets of individuals. Under color of providing for the removal to Africa, of about three hundred recaptured negroes, the general government appropriated $130,000, which were "applied to an object affiliated to our design, and essentially, though collaterally, contributing to its advancement; the sending out of agents of the United States to the African coast, and the transportation of persons in the public ships. By these means *we* have obtained, in fact, *all* we could have expected to gain, had Congress decided to aid our enterprise." *Speech of Gen. Harper*, 7th *Rep.* p. 12.

Since 1820, $220,449 have been poured into the treasury. If to this be added $45,645, the debt due by the Society at the beginning of 1834, we have a total of $266,094 expended, independent of the $130,000 paid by government. Such have been the pecuniary means of the Society; and now let us see how far its "moral influence" has progressed in freeing the country of its millions of slaves. Since December 1816, when the Society was organized, to the present time, it has transported *eight hundred and nine* manumitted slaves to Africa—equal to the increase of the slave population for *five and a half days!* But it will be said, that some years elapsed before the Society was in a capacity to transport emigrants. Be it so—let us inquire then, how many manumitted slaves have been sent out the last *five* years. In 1830—1, 2, 3, six hundred and sixty-six were transported: in 1834, *none*,* making a removal on an average, *of less than the increase of one day in each year!* In the eighteenth year of the Society's existence, it finds itself compelled to pause and rest, after the mighty effort of arresting the increase of the slave population for FIVE DAYS AND A HALF.

* In 1834, the Philadelphia Society sent out one hundred and twenty four manumitted slaves. For the transportation of one hundred and ten of these $2,200, had been left by their former master.

Such are the results of the *moral influence* about which we have heard so much. And upon *whom* has this influence operated? Surely upon those who were most within its sphere; and of course these eight hundred and nine slaves were sent from the plantations of the officers of the Society. Unfortunately facts do not confirm this very natural supposition. Judge Washington was President of the Society, from its first organization, till his death in 1829. In a letter to the Society he observed, "We may fairly hope it will lead to the sure but gradual abolition of slavery." *Af. Rep.* VII. p. 20.

Whatever were the *hopes* of this gentleman, he was personally beyond the reach of the Society's moral influence. In a published letter in 1821, after stating that his slaves had got the idea that as nephew to General Washington, or President of the Colonization Society he could not hold them in bondage, he adds, "I called the negroes together in March last, and after stating to them what I had heard, I assured them that I had no intention to give freedom to any of them."

The Judge was as good as his word. He did indeed shortly after part with *fifty-four* of his slaves, but it was not to the agent of the Society, to be transported to Liberia, but to a slave dealer, to be shipped to New-Orleans. Mr. Carroll, a large slave holder, succeeded to the presidential chair, but for aught that appears to the contrary, neither he nor Mr. Madison the present incumbent, ever liberated a single slave. Mr. Clay, a Vice President, publicly intimated that *he* did not intend to send his slaves to Africa. Mr. Fitzhugh, another Vice President, the proprietor of "numerous slaves," speaking of slavery, remarked:

"No plea can be urged in justification of its continuance but the *plea of necessity*. *Af. Rep.* V. p. 354.

The will of this gentleman who died in 1830, is a singular comment on this plea of necessity. The following extract is given in the African Repository, under the head of

PHILANTHROPIC EXAMPLE.

"After the year 1850, I leave all my negroes unconditionally free, with the privilege of having the expenses of their removal to whatever places of residence they may select, defrayed. If they consent to go to the Colony, (Libe-

ria) they are to be paid fifty dollars each on their arrival." *Af. Rep.* VI 247.

It will be perceived that the testator believed in the "necessity," of requiring his slaves to toil for *twenty years* for his heirs, after he himself was in the grave, before they could be permitted to labor for themselves; and also the necessity of leaving the children who might be born of these slaves in the *twenty* years, in interminable bondage, for it will be observed, that the prospective manumission is confined to Mr. Fitzhugh's "negroes," and not to the children to be hereafter born. Should this *Philanthropic example* be universally followed, in how many centuries would slavery cease?

Mr. Custiss, well known as a zealous advocate of the Society in a speech before it, thus exclaims,

"Lend us your aid, to strike the fetters from the slave, and to spread the enjoyment of unfettered freedom over the whole of our favored and happy land." 7th *Report*, p. 13.

Had Mr. Custiss applied to the Board, for a passage for his slaves to Liberia, the boon would unquestionably have been granted. But such a boon, was not the aid *he* desired. In the New-York Commercial Advertiser of January 31, 1829, it is stated that Philip Lee, the son of General Washington's favorite servant, is the slave of Mr. Custiss, the adopted son of Washington: that Philip is a pious, faithful and in all respects an exemplary man, and has a wife and children to whom he is tenderly attached; and that $1000, are required to deliver Philip and his family from slavery. "Much interest has been excited in the district of Columbia, where it is supposed one half of the sum required will be raised." The paper farther states, that $121 had been subscribed in New-York.

In the appendix to the 15th Report, p. 41, is a list of persons who have manumitted slaves to be sent to Liberia. The list does not profess to give all, but contains fifteen names and it is remarkable that the name of any one present or former officer of the American Colonization Society is not to be found among them, with the exception of Mr. Fitzhugh who is included, on account of his "Philanthropic" last will and testament.

If such be the impotency of the moral influence of the Society upon its officers, its orators and advocates, what

are we to expect from its influence on slave holders generally.

But let us suppose, what we all know to be untrue, that *every* slave holder in our country, is in very deed anxious to get rid of his slaves, and that the whole slave population is now and will continue to be at the disposal of the Society, and we ask, can this population be transported to Africa, and there maintained? We have seen that before *any* impression can be made on the present amount of the slave population, its *increase* rising to more than fifty-four thousand annually, must be removed. But it is surely not to be removed, merely to perish by famine in the wilderness. In the ordinary calculations of the expense of carrying these people to Africa, they seem to be considered only as articles of freight which are to be delivered at Liberia, at so much per piece. Thirty dollars are usually assumed as the cost of a passage; but let it be recollected that after they arrive, houses, implements of husbandry, food and clothing for at least one *year* must be provided for them. It is with difficulty a new colony can provide for its own maintenance, and it is folly to suppose that it can also provide for an annual influx of fifty thousand emigrants, emigrants too, sunk in brutal ignorance, unaccustomed to supply their own wants, and bringing with them, nothing but the rags on their backs. Place fifty thousand such persons in the wilds of Africa, and they would be far more likely to starve before the end of a year, than they would be at that time, to furnish the necessaries of life to fifty thousand more emigrants. The colony is now poor, and has only about three thousand inhabitants, and it is admitted (See 15th Rep. p. 10,) that an addition of one thousand emigrants in any one year since its establishment would have been fatal to it. How many years then must elapse, before it can receive fifty-four thousand *every year;* and when that period arrives *what* will *then* be the annual increase? Admitting the whole marine and the whole treasury of the United States to be surrendered to the Society, does any sane man believe, that Liberia can be brought to such a state of cultivation as to maintain an *annual* accession to her population of fifty-four thousand in less than twenty-five years? But in the year 1860 the annual *increase* of slaves, instead of fifty-four thousand, will be

one hundred and four thousand; and unless the Society will then be able to transport *more* than this mighty multitude, each year, it will not even diminish the present amount of the slave population!

In supposing the slave holders ready to colonize their slaves, we have given full effect to the reiterated assertions of Colonizationists on this subject. These gentlemen are fond of representing the Southern masters as unfortunately burthened with a grievous load, which they are impatient to shake off; and from which no other human agency than the Society can possibly relieve them. Granting the premises, we see what sort of relief the Society is capable of affording. We have intentionally removed one difficulty, that we might consider another. Let us now reverse the supposition, and admitting the ability of the Society, *immediately* to transport to Africa, and there maintain all the slaves in the United States, let us inquire *how* the consent of the masters is to be obtained.

Let it be remembered, that the Society has studiously avoided every measure to obtain such consent, and boasts that *it addresses arguments to no master*. But if we are to believe Colonizationists, no arguments are necessary to induce the masters to liberate their slaves. Our sympathy is perpetually demanded, not for the slave, but his *unfortunate* master, who is imploring the Society to deliver him from the curse entailed upon him by his ancestors! So far from slave holders wishing to abolish slavery, they are endeavoring to transmit it as a precious inheritance to their latest posterity. As we have already observed, we do not solicit the reader's belief in *any* assertion we may make, until we have demonstrated its truth; and we assert that there is a *general* disposition among slave holders, to perpetuate slavery. We know, and cheerfully acknowledge that there are exceptions, but we believe they are exceedingly rare. The whole tendency of slave legislation, is to rivet the chains of its victims. Hence the cruel obstacles it raises to manumission, and the wicked efforts it makes to brutalize the human mind. But not contented with holding their own slaves with an iron grasp, they have striven, and with woful success, to extend the curse beyond their own borders. When Missouri was to be admitted into the

Union, every slave representative in Congress, without one solitary exception, Colonizationist or not, voted to render it a *slave State*. So anxious was Virginia, to strengthen the slave interest, that rebellion and civil war were the price she was willing to pay for another mart in human flesh. Her House of Delegates, "Resolved, that the General Assembly of Virginia, will support the good people of Missouri, in their just rights, and admission into the Union, and will co-operate with them in RESISTING WITH MANLY FORTITUDE any attempt which Congress may make to impose restraints, or restrictions on the price of their admission, not authorized by the great principles of the Constitution, and in violation of their rights, liberty and HAPPINESS!"

General Charles C. Pinkney, of South-Carolina, in a public address, delivered in 1824, maintained that slavery as it exists in that State, is "no greater or more unusual evil, than befalls the poor in general; that its extinction would be attended with calamity to the country, and to the people connected with it, in every character, and relation; that no necessity exists for *such extinction*—that slavery is sanctioned by the Mosaic dispensation—that it is a fulfillment of the denunciation, pronounced against the second son of Noah—that it is not inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christianity, nor considered by St. Paul as a moral evil." *Address before the Agricultural Society of South-Carolina.*

Governor Miller, of South-Carolina, in his message to the Legislature in 1829, remarks,

"Slavery is not a national evil, on the contrary it is a national benefit. Slavery exists in some form every where, and it is not of much consequence in *a philosophical* point of view, whether it be voluntary or involuntary. In a *political* point of view, involuntary slavery has the advantage, since all who enjoy political liberty, are then in fact free."

It gives us pleasure to state that the African Repository, pronounces the doctrines of Messrs. Pinkney and Miller, "abominable." We have explained in our introduction, the tacit compact, by which Colonizationists are never to defend slavery in the *abstract*, nor condemn it in *particulars*, a compact which has thus far been scrupulously observed by the Repository. But the question is, not what Mr.

Gurley thinks of these doctrines, but how they are regarded by slaveholders. Now there is no evidence, that General Pinkney's rank in Carolina society, was affected by his "abominable" doctrines; on the contrary, judging from the eulogium pronounced at his decease, he was regarded as one of the most distinguished and *pious* members of the slaveholding community. And so far were the people of Carolina offended, by the "abominable" doctrines of their governor, that after his term of service expired, they expressed their confidence in him, by sending him to represent their State in the Senate of the United States.

Governor Hayne, of the same State, in his message to the Legislature, (1833,) labors to prove that slavery adds to the military strength of a nation, and concludes with declaring that "the existence of slavery in the South, is not only to be regarded as an evil to be deplored, but that it brings along corresponding advantages, in elevating the character, contributing to the wealth, enlarging the resources, and adding to the strength of the State in which it exists."

It must be confessed these are strange sentiments to be advanced by the chief magistrates of a people who regard slavery as a curse, and are anxious to colonize their slaves. Let us now attend to the official declarations of the present Governor of South-Carolina; and see what comment they afford on the supposed desire of the slave holders to get rid of their slaves, a supposition on which *the whole theory of abolition by Colonization is founded.*

"It is demonstrable that cotton could not be produced by the labor of *hired* freemen for *double* the average price it has commanded for ten years past.—It is obvious that the *abolition* of that kind of labor which is the *basis of our wealth and prosperity* would annihilate at a single blow, that entire branch of foreign commerce which brings the industry of the exporting States into competition with that of the manufacturing States.—I am thoroughly convinced that the institution of domestic slavery, paradoxical as it may seem is *an indispensable element in an unmixed representative republic.* How SACRED IS OUR OBLIGATION to provide for our POSTERITY all the necessary means of *defending* and *preserving* an institution as essential to their existence

and to their liberty, as it is obnoxious to the *prejudices* of those who have the greatest possible facilities for assailing it." *Inaugural Speech, Dec.* 1834.

A few years since the State of Louisiana passed a law, prohibiting the importation of slaves from other States, but the extension of the sugar cultivation demanding more labor, the law was repealed in 1833, and this State is now importing multitudes of slaves from Maryland and Virginia. Soon after the repeal of the law, 2,000 were offered for sale in New-Orleans, in the course of a single week. A letter from an intelligent gentleman, personally acquainted with the state of slavery at Natchez, says: "The prospects of the blacks in the South-west, are gloomy in the extreme. Cotton can be afforded at 6 cents per pound; last year, (1832,) it was worth from 9 to 13 cents; this year it is worth from 14 to 18 cents. Last year about 1,000 negroes were sold in Natchez, and I am confident 1,500 will be disposed of in that market this year. In my opinion, the slaves, if ever free, will owe their liberty to their own strength and the blessing of Heaven; for their masters, as a Methodist minister once expressed it, think only of making more cotton, to buy more negroes, to make more cotton, to buy more negroes."

So far are masters from wishing to send their negroes to Africa, that they are continually increasing their stock, and hence slaves are rising in value. A late Georgia paper announces, that at a sale of seventy-one negroes, *of all ages and kinds*, the average price was $438.

A convention has recently been held in Tennessee, for amending the State Constitution, and one *amendment* is, a prohibition to the Legislature to abolish slavery!

The Augusta Chronicle, (Geo.) of Oct. 1833, says: "We firmly believe, that if the Southern States do not quickly unite and declare to the North, if the question of slavery be longer *discussed* in any shape, they will instantly secede from the Union; that the question must be settled, and very soon, by the SWORD, as the only possible means of self-preservation!"

The Richmond Enquirer and the Washington Globe, are both mightily indignant at the proposition that Congress should abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

So far is it from being true, as stated by Colonizationists, that the South is ready to surrender its slaves, that every day affords new proofs that the public sentiment both at the North and the South, is now more tolerant to slavery than at any other period during the last thirty years. Who believes, that even ten years ago, any Connecticut Legislature would have ventured to pass the Black Act; or that Judge Dagget himself would have pronounced his portentous and extraordinary opinion? At what time, before the influence of the Colonization Society was felt throughout our land, did the citizens of the North merit or receive such commendations from the slave press as the following?

"Public sentiment at the North, in reference to *Southern interests*, was never in a *sounder state* than it is now. The language of the Northern press is cheering in the extreme,—the feeling in favor of the South, *and against the abolitionists*, is deep and almost universal." *Charleston Courier*, 21st *July*, 1834.

When, until late years, have the Governors of even slave States, dared to promulgate such "abominable" doctrines, as those we have quoted?

Unless we greatly deceive ourselves, we have now shown that no desire exists at the South to get rid of slavery, at least to such an extent as to render Colonization in the remotest degree instrumental in abolishing it: and it is an unquestioned fact, that in 18 years only about 900 manumitted slaves have been sent to Africa. But certain laws have been recently passed by Virginia and Maryland, which are triumphantly cited by Colonizationists as proofs of the growing desire at the South to abolish slavery,—a desire which is attributed to the influence of the Society.

The law of Virginia appropriates $18,000 a year for five years, for the transportation of colored persons to Africa. Now it is evident that the effect of this law upon slavery in Virginia, must depend on the *class* of colored persons to be transported. Will it be believed, that this law, received with such joy and triumph by Colonizationists, *confines the application of its appropriation to the removal of such blacks as were free at the date of its passage.* In other words, it declares to the slaveholders, "We will not assist you in

manumitting your slaves." By a previous law, any manumitted slave, who does not leave the State in twelve months, becomes again a slave: this *new* law provides that such a manumitted slave shall *not* be sent to Africa,—of course it affords no possible inducement or facility whatever to manumission; and its whole operation is confined to the removal *of nuisances*,—and we have already seen, from the avowal of members of the Legislature, that this removal is virtually to be compulsory. The philanthropy that rejoices in *such* a law, is indeed of a peculiar cast, but it is the philanthropy of "the benevolent Colonization system."*

The Maryland law, of 1832, appropriates $200,000, to be applied through the agency of the Maryland Colonization Society, to the removal to Africa, of "the people of color now free, and such as shall hereafter become so."

On the 20th January, 1833, the American Colonization Society "Resolved that the Society view with the highest gratification, the continued efforts of the State of Maryland to accomplish her patriotic and BENEVOLENT SYSTEM in regard to her colored population; and that the last appropriation by that State of two hundred thousand dollars in aid of African Colonization, is hailed by the friends of the system as a BRIGHT EXAMPLE to other States."

Let us now examine this "benevolent system," this "bright example," and see how it accords with *Christian* love and sincerity.

In forming our opinion of the true character of this scheme, it will not be improper to take into consideration the *avowed* motives which gave it birth. The Legislature, in their session of 1831, adopted the following resolutions:

"Resolved, that the increased proportion of the free people of color, in this State, to the white population—the *evils growing out of their connection and unrestrained association with the slaves, their habits and manner of obtaining a subsistence, and their withdrawing* A LARGE PORTION

* A party writer, in a late number of the Richmond Enquirer, says: "An opposition man, who stated in the spring that he considered the removal of the deposites as affecting the value of his property 30 per cent., admits now, that he never saw A MORE WHOLESOME STATE OF THINGS; negro boys and men will fetch from $600 to $700." Is Virginia sick of this wholesome state of things?

of employment from the laboring class of the white population, are subjects of momentous and grave consideration to the good people of this State.

"Resolved, that, as philanthropists and lovers of freedom, we deplore the existence of slavery among us, and would use our utmost exertions to ameliorate its condition: yet we consider the unrestricted power of manumission as fraught with ultimate evils, of a more dangerous tendency than the circumstance of slavery alone; and that any act, having for its object the mitigation of these joint evils, not inconsistent with other paramount considerations, would be worthy the attention and deliberation of the representatives of a free, liberal-minded, and enlightened people."

Another resolution followed, declaring that, by the Colonization of free people of color in Africa, "these evils may be measurably diminished," and a committee was appointed to frame a bill upon "the principles" of these resolutions.

Such, then, are the principles of the Maryland benevolent system, and which of them is derived from the gospel of Christ? So far as the system relates to the free blacks, it proposes their removal, not out of kindness to them, but because they are supposed to be injurious to *slave property;* because *their habits and manner of obtaining a subsistence*, the necessary results of wicked laws, are vicious; and because they enter into competition with *white laborers.* This last accusation against the free blacks is a most extraordinary one, when made by a people, who keep in their employment more than ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND BLACK LABORERS, who toil without wages, and subsist on the scantiest fare; and yet the interference of *these* laborers with "the laboring class of the white population," occasions no uneasiness, and leads to no plan for their removal. And what are the principles of this system with regard to slaves? Why, that it is worse to give a slave his liberty here, than to keep him in bondage; but at the same time, that "the utmost exertions" ought to be made to "ameliorate his condition." Let us now proceed to the practical application of these principles. At the next session, a report was presented, in which calculations are entered into, to show that "the WHOLE of this popula-

tion (of free blacks) can be removed in the course of one generation alone." But the Legislators are philanthropists and lovers of freedom, and deplore the existence of slavery. Let us see how the committee propose to remove this deplored evil. The report says of the slaves, "they are property, and must be so regarded, and without *their owners' consent*, none of them can be touched."

Here we have a principle which secures to Maryland the blessings of slavery *forever*. In no country in the world, in ancient or modern times, has slavery been abolished by the unanimous consent of slave holders. *Never* has it been peaceably abolished but by law. The Northern and Eastern States could abolish slavery without the consent of the owners; the Republican States of South America could do the same: the Legislature of Maryland can rule fifty thousand of their free colored citizens with a rod of iron, can deny them the most common and inestimable rights of humanity; but it cannot rescue a human being from unmerited and involuntary bondage!

Let us now turn to the famous appropriation act. By this act, masters are allowed to manumit their slaves, but then the manumitted slaves are to be transported beyond the limits of the State; and should a parent or a child, a husband or a wife, shudder at parting forever from a near and dear relative, the separation may be avoided by a renunciation in open court of the newly acquired liberty, and a public consent to *continue a slave!* Such is the bearing of this benevolent system on *slavery*. Let us now contemplate its effects on the free black. The appropriation bill authorizes no compulsion, and imposes no penalties on a refusal to go to Africa. It was not expedient that *this* bill should contain such provisions, and therefore they were inserted in *another* bill passed by the same Legislature, and within two days of the other, entitled, "An act, relating to free negroes and slaves." This act, like the Connecticut Black Act, is a bold and flagrant violation of the constitutional rights of free citizens. A citizen of New-York, if his complexion be colored, may not visit a dying child or parent in Maryland, without incurring a penalty of fifty dollars for every week he remains, and if he is unable to pay the fine, why then he is to be *sold by*

the sheriff at public sale for such time as may be necessary to cover the aforesaid penalty. But if a free negro is sold for a limited time, he is, in fact, SOLD FOR LIFE. During the term for which he is sold, he is a chattel, and may be transported at the pleasure of his master; and when the expiration of his term finds him in a cotton-field in Missouri, or a sugar-mill in Louisiana, who is to rescue him from interminable bondage? Should a colored citizen of Maryland cross its boundary on business, ever so urgent to himself, and family, on returning to his home, more than a month after, he also is liable to be seized and SOLD, unless previous to his departure, he had complied with certain vexatious, legal formalities; and which, from ignorance, he would be extremely likely to neglect, or perform imperfectly. A brisk slave trade, it is well known, is carried on between Maryland and the Southern States; and it is well known, that free negroes are often the victims of this trade; instances occurring of whole families being kidnapped. Under such circumstances, many would wish to have the means of protecting, if necessary, the freedom of themselves and children; but the new bill forbids them to keep any military weapon, without a special license from a county court, or city corporation; a condition amounting virtually to a total prohibition. No free negro may attend a religious meeting not conducted by a white person.

As the law thus discourages, and in a great measure prohibits religious instruction, exhortation and social prayer, among fifty thousand of the population of Maryland, no wonder it *presumes* every one of that fifty thousand to be a *thief.* Hence no person may, under the penalty of five dollars, buy of a free negro "any bacon, pork, beef, mutton, corn, wheat, tobacco, rye, or oats," unless he shall at the time exhibit a certificate from a Justice of the Peace, or three respectable persons, that he or they believe the said negro came honestly by the identical article offered for sale.

Such are some of the features of this law, and they are well calculated to induce the free negroes to avail themselves of the benevolent and munificent provision made by the other law for their transportation to Africa. The concluding section, however, is the most operative of the whole, and promises to afford ample employment for the

two hundred thousand dollars, and to furnish Liberia with an abundant population. It is as follows:

"Sect. 12. And be it enacted, that if any *free* negro or mulatto shall be convicted of ANY crime, committed after the passage of this act, which may not, under the laws of this State, be punished by hanging by the neck, such free negro or mulatto may, in the discretion of the court, be sentenced to the penalties and punishments now provided by law, or be banished from this State, or BE TRANSPORTED INTO SOME FOREIGN COUNTRY."

Hence if a free negro steals a pound of tobacco, he may be shipped off to Liberia. In civilized countries, it has been the aim of the legislature, to apportion punishments to crimes, but Maryland has set "a bright example" of a simplification of the criminal code, without a parallel in the history of jurisprudence. She tells her Judges, "in the case of free black offenders, you need give yourselves no trouble in comparing the different shades of guilt, and weighing those circumstances which aggravate or mitigate the offence. In certain cases you must hang them, in all others, without exception, you may send them to Africa."

This is the "benevolent system," the "bright example" lauded by the American Colonization Society. This is the system which is cited as a proof, that Maryland desires to abolish slavery. A symptom of this desire occurred in the Maryland House of Delegates, in 1834. Mr. Mann moved an inquiry into the expediency of abolishing slavery, *after a certain period.* So great was the excitement produced by this motion, that the mover withdrew it, *and the minute of the motion was expunged from the journal.*

The $200,000, it seems, are entrusted to the Maryland Colonization Society; and that Society, wishing still farther to increase its funds, has appealed to the benevolence of the North. The appeal is founded on two solemn official declarations; *first*, that it aims at the extirpation of slavery in Maryland, by Colonization, and, secondly, that it contemplates "founding a nation on the principle of temperance."

We have seen that a committee of the Maryland legislature anticipated, or at least insisted on the possibility of the removal of the *whole* free black population in one gene-

ration. The Society, in their address, repeatedly declare their object to be the extirpation of slavery by Colonization; and the legislature forbids, as we have also seen, manumission at home. Of course, slavery can only be extirpated by the removal, not of a select portion, but of *all* the slaves.

In what terms ought we then to speak of the following resolution of the Maryland Society, published to conciliate the friends of temperance at the North?

"Whereas, it is desired that the settlement about to be made by this Society, should as far as practicable, become a *moral* and temperate community; and as this is to be effected, in a great degree, by the *character* of the emigrants, who leave America for a new home in Africa: and, whereas, the sad experience of this country has shown the demoralizing effects of the use of ardent spirits, *Be it Resolved* that no emigrant shall be *permitted* to go from Maryland, to a settlement from this Society in Africa, who will not first bind himself, or herself to abstain therefrom."

So the Society is to carry to Africa 100,000 slaves, and thus exterminate slavery in their State; and yet they will positively refuse to carry one of them until he has taken the temperance pledge. But what if a portion of them will not consent to take the pledge; must slavery continue, or must means be taken to coerce their consent?

None but those wilfully blind, can examine this subject without seeing, that the measures adopted by Virginia and Maryland, are merely contrivances to get rid of the free blacks; and far more disgraceful in the latter, than in the former case, because more disguised by insincere professions.

The New-York Journal of Commerce, a Colonization paper, had the candor in speaking on the subject, to remark, "It is true these States do not propose to resort, in the *first instance*, to compulsory measures; but does any one doubt that they will resort to such measures, if the number of volunteer emigrants should not be sufficient to exhaust the appropriations made for their removal." And a Baltimore paper (the Chronicle) alluding to the Maryland acts, avows, "The INTENTION of those laws was, and their effect must be, to EXPEL the free people of color from the State."

Yet do these cruel and perfidious measures receive the support and approbation of the Colonization Society.

We have now examined the means by which the Society proposes to effect the removal of slavery, and trust we have shown their utter impotency. Were the impracticability of this scheme, its only objection, the friends of humanity and religion would not be called on as they now are, to meet it with unrelenting hostility—to labor without rest, and without weariness for its entire prostration. Alas, though powerless for good, it is mighty for evil; and its baneful influence is leading multitudes of good and well intentioned men, unconsciously to countenance doctrines and measures, necessarily tending to perpetuate slavery and all its abominations in our land. This is an assertion, that ought not rashly to be made, nor hastily believed. We appeal to common sense, and undisputed facts.

Admitting that Colonization could, in the course of ages, extirpate slavery, ought we, therefore, to reject every means of shortening the sufferings of the slave, by hastening his liberation? But Colonizationists, not content with insisting on the efficiency of their own plan, discourage and oppose every other. Now should their plan prove delusive, after the lapse of centuries, their influence in preventing the adoption of any other, will have been fatal, as far as it may have gone, to the freedom of millions.

"It (Colonization) is the ONLY possible mode of emancipation at once safe, and rational, that human ingenuity can devise." *Speech of Mr. Custiss.* 13th *Report*, p. viii.

"Colonization is the ONLY expedient by which these evils can be mitigated." *Speech of J. A. Dix. Af. Rep.* IV. 168.

"To this country it offers the ONLY possible means of gradually ridding ourselves of a mighty evil." 1st *Rep. N. Y. Colonization Society.*

"The Colonizing scheme, leading as it does to voluntary manumission, is the ONLY one which true wisdom can dictate." *Speech of Mr. Key, Vice President. Af. Rep.* IV. p. 299.

"I would urge this system of Colonization upon your

notice, as the ONLY rational plan which has yet been suggested for relieving our Southern brethren from the curse of slavery." *Speech of Chancellor Walworth of N. Y.*

"The ONLY rational and practical plan ever devised for the emancipation of the slaves of independent States." *N. Y. Courier and Enquirer*, 12th *May*, 1834. *A Colonization paper.*

"This great end (abolition) is to be attained in NO OTHER way than by a plan of extensive Colonization." *Letter of R. G. Harper, V. President.* 2d *Rep.* p. iii.

"In our opinion, the Colonization Society presents the ONLY safe and feasible plan for the liberation of our slaves from bondage." *Report of Wilmington Col. Society. Af. Rep.* IX. 319.

We have seen the nature and extent of the moral influence of this *only* rational plan in favor of abolition; let us now examine that which it exerts in *behalf of slavery.*

In the first place, we ask what must be the natural effect on public opinion of such disclaimers as the following?

"It is no Abolition Society: it addresses, as yet, arguments to no master. It denies the design of attempting emancipation *partial* or *general.*" *Address of J. B. Harrison, to Lynchburgh Col. Society. Af. Rep.* III. 197.

"Into their (the Society) accounts, the subject of emancipation does not *enter at all.*" *Af. Rep.* IV. p. 306.

"The friends of Colonization wish to be distinctly understood on this point. From the beginning, they have disavowed, and they do yet disavow, that their object is the emancipation of slaves." *Speech of J. S. Green, before the N. Jersey Soc.*

"From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering in the smallest degree with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation *gradual* or *immediate.*" *Speech of Mr. Clay, V. President. Af. Rep.* VI. p. 13.

"Recognizing the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, *directly* or *indirectly*, with the rights it creates." *Af. Rep.* III. p. 16.

"He considered himself publicly pledged, so long as he

had any thing to do with the Society, to resist every attempt to connect it with emancipation, either in *theory* or *practice*." *Speech of Gen. Jones, a Manager of the Am. Col. Soc.* 23d *Jan.* 1834.

"The *emancipation of slaves*, or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of the people of color within the United States, are objects *foreign* to the powers of this Society." *Address of the Board of Managers to its Auxiliaries. Af. Rep.* VII. p. 291.

Thus we see, the friends of the Society utterly deny that emancipation, partial or general, gradual or immediate, direct or indirect, in theory or in practice, is included among its objects; and yet the Society "is the ONLY possible mode of emancipation at once safe and rational, that human ingenuity can devise!"

A worthy Vice President of the Society, Mr. G. Smith, remarked: "They who denounce us for not favoring or promoting the emancipation of slaves, might just as well denounce the Bible or Temperance Society, because they do not step out of their respective spheres, to favor or promote the emancipation of slaves." *Af. Rep.* IX. p. 358.

But what if a Bible or a Temperance Society should announce itself to the world, as about to abolish slavery; should declare itself to be the ONLY possible instrument by which slavery could be abolished; and should oppose and ridicule the employment of any other instrument, and should then falsify all its professions, and exert its influence to justify and perpetuate slavery?

Instead of denouncing the Society for *not* stepping out of its sphere to favor or promote the emancipation of slaves, we denounce it for *leaving that sphere*, and for favoring and promoting continued slavery. The *professed* constitutional object of the Society, is the colonization of free blacks and manumitted slaves. We fully admit, it has no more right to meddle with emancipation or slavery, than a Bible Society; and we condemn it, because disregarding its professed object, and in utter contempt of its own Constitution, it has lent itself to support and perpetuate a system of cruelty and wickedness. It is painful to make these assertions, but duty requires them, and facts justify

them. We will now proceed to show, that the Society, (and by the term we intend Colonizationists generally) has stepped out of its sphere to acknowledge, that man may have property in man; to justify him for holding this property; and to vilify all who would persuade him instantly to surrender it.

"We hold their slaves as we hold their other property, SACRED." *Speech of J. S. Green before N. Jersey Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* I. p. 283.

"To the slave holder, they (the Society) address themselves in a tone of conciliation and *sympathy*. We know your RIGHTS, say they, and we RESPECT them." *Af. Rep.* VII. p. 100.

"The rights of the masters are to remain SACRED in the eyes of the Society." *Address of Rockbridge Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* IV. p. 274.

"We decline assenting to the opinion of some abolitionists, that though the master's right over his living slaves should be conceded, yet he has no claim of property in the unborn, for the reason, that there can be no property in a thing not *in esse*. This position is wholly untenable, under any jurisprudence." *Am. Quar. Review, transferred to Af. Rep.* IX. p. 35.

The right of property in human flesh, cannot surely be more sacred than that in RUM; and yet it would sound strange, to hear a religious Society addressing the rum-seller, in a tone of conciliation and sympathy, and assuring him that they regarded his property in rum as *sacred*, and respected his right to traffick in it.

If it be a question, whether man can lawfully have property in man, who authorized the Society to settle it? That it is a question, is evident from the following exclamation of Lord Chancellor Brougham, in one of his speeches. "Talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property." And yet the right of the West-Indian and the Virginia planter, rested on precisely the same basis, the sanction of *human* laws.

Not only does the Society acknowledge slaves to be property, but it excuses and justifies those who hold this property.

No motive can operate so powerfully in inducing a

master to liberate his slaves, as the conviction that, by retaining them, he is acting contrary to the will of his Maker, and exposing himself to his displeasure.

In a manual of devotion, lately published by the excellent Bishop Mead of Virginia, himself a zealous Colonizationist, there is a prayer to be used by the head of a family. This prayer, intended expressly for the slave region, has this affecting petition: "O heavenly Master, hear me while I lift up my heart in prayer, for those unfortunate beings who *call me master.* O God, make known unto me my whole duty towards them and their oppressed race, and give me courage and zeal to do it at all events. *Convince me of sin, if I be wrong in retaining them another moment in bondage.*"

It is observable, that in this prayer, the slave holder, when in communion with his Maker, far from claiming a sacred right of property in his fellow immortals, dares not make any claim to them whatever, but alludes to them as those "who *call* me master." It is also obvious, that the question of immediate emancipation is pressing on his conscience, and fearful lest he is committing sin in holding slaves "another moment," he implores the Divine guidance. He will of course, seek for light wherever it may be found, and will naturally turn to the Colonization Society, to learn the opinion of the eminent men who belong to it, on this momentous subject. Now let us see what opiates that Society administers to quiet his uneasy conscience, and to lull it in profound repose.

First, he is assured, that by freeing his slaves, he would be guilty of great inhumanity towards *them.*

"The very commencing act of freedom to the slave, is to place him in a condition still worse, if possible, both for his moral habits, his outward provision, and for the community that embosoms him, than even that, deplorable as it was, from which he has been removed." *Address to Col. Soc. in N. Carolina. Af. Rep.* III. p. 66.

"What but sorrow can we feel at the *misguided piety* which has set so many of them free by death-bed devise, or sudden conviction of injustice?" *Address to Lynchburgh Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* III. p. 193.

"There are in the United States 238,000 blacks deno-

minated free, but whose freedom confers on them, we might say, no privilege but the privilege of being more *vicious and miserable* than slaves *can be.*" *Rev. Mr. Bacon of New-Haven.* 7th *Rep.* p. 99.

"Policy, and even the *voice of humanity*, forbade the progress of manumission." *Af. Rep.* IV. p. 268.

"It would be as humane to throw them from *the decks in the middle passage*, as to set them free in our country." *Af. Rep.* IV. p. 226.

Was Washington wanting in humanity, when he liberated all his slaves; and was he surpassed in benevolence by his nephew, the President of the Society, who avowed his intention of never giving freedom to any of his? Was it "misguided piety" that induced Jefferson to set his free by his last will? Was it an act of perfidious cruelty in the State of South-Carolina, to purchase the freedom of a slave, who had disclosed an intended conspiracy; thus under the pretence of rewarding him, perpetrating an act as inhuman as throwing a fellow being from the decks in the middle passage? Is the recent act of North-Carolina, in paying $1,800 for the freedom of a slave, who had, with singular intrepidity, preserved a public building from fire, of the same character?

Much as we respect Mr. Bacon's character, we cannot but believe that could his sincerity be tested by his being compelled to choose between being a slave in Georgia, or a free black even in Canterbury, he would prefer the latter alternative. It is the more remarkable, that Mr. Bacon should have been led to make such unadvised assertions, when New-Haven itself, afforded full proof of their incorrectness. Hear the testimony of his estimable and distinguished fellow townsman, Professor Silliman.

"We need not look far from home to see the pleasing effects of the benevolent and disinterested exertions of an eminent friend* of the Africans, aided by others of a kindred spirit—it is delightful to the benevolent mind, to see so many of our colored people living in neat and comfortable dwellings, furnished in decent taste, and in sufficient fulness; thus indicating sobriety, industry, and self-respect:

* The Rev. S. S. Jocelin, an active and public opponent of the Colonization Society.

to see their children in clean attire, hastening on a Sabbath morning to the Sunday school, and on other days, with cheerful and intelligent faces, seeking the common school." *Silliman's* 4th *of July Oration*, 1832.

The slave holder is farther instructed by the Society, that the continuance of slavery here, is at present, and under existing circumstances, unavoidable, and that he is perfectly excusable and innocent, in keeping his fellow men in bondage; and that all the cruel laws relative to slavery are right and proper. Is all this calumny? attend to the testimony.

"Slavery is an evil entailed upon the present generation of slave holders, which they *must* suffer, whether they will or not." *Af. Rep.* V. p. 179.

"The existence of slavery among us, though not *at all* to be objected to our Southern brethren *as a fault*." *Address of N. Y. Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* VII. p. 136.

May we ask, how came the States of Missouri, Alabama, and Mississippi, which within thirty years were nearly in a state of nature, to be now thronged with slaves?

"It (the Society) condemns no man because he is a slave holder." *Editorial article—Af. Rep.* VII. p. 200.

"Acknowledging the *necessity* by which its (slavery) present continuance, and rigorous provisions for its maintenance, are *justified*." *Af. Rep.* III. p. 16.

"It is the business of the free, *their safety requires it*, to keep the slaves in ignorance." *Proceedings of N. York Col. Soc.* 2d *Ann.*

"The laws of Virginia now discourage, and *very wisely*, perhaps, the emancipation of slaves." *Speech of Mr. Mercer, V. President.* I. *Rep.*

"They (the Abolitionists) confound the *misfortunes* of one generation with the crimes of another." *Af. Rep.* VII. p. 202.

"We all know, from a variety of considerations, which it is unnecessary to name, and in consequence of the policy which is *obliged* to be pursued in the Southern States, that it is extremely difficult to free a slave; and hence the enactment of those laws, which a *fatal necessity* seems to demand." *Af. Rep.* II. p. 12.

"I am not complaining of the owners of slaves: they

cannot get rid of them." *Address before Hampden Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* IV. p. 226.

"There are men in the Southern States, who long to do something effectual for the benefit of their slaves, and would gladly emancipate them, did not *prudence* and compassion *forbid* such a measure." I. *Report*, p. 100. *App.*

"Suppose the slaves of the South to have the knowledge of freemen, they would be free, or exterminated by the whites. This renders it *necessary* to prevent their instruction, and to keep them from *Sunday schools*, or the means of gaining knowledge." *Proceedings of N. York Col. Soc.* 2d *Ann. Rep.*

"The treatment of the slaves is in general *as good* as circumstances and the *cruel necessity* of the case will permit." *Proceedings of N. York Col. Soc.* 2d *Ann.*

"We believe that there is not the slightest moral turpitude in holding slaves, under existing circumstances, in the South." *Af. Rep.* IX. p. 4.

Thus do we find the whole system of American slavery justified on the tyrant's plea, necessity. But this is not all. The Scriptures themselves are wrested to confound those who recommend abolition.

The President of the Geneva Colonization Society, S. M. Hopkins, Esq., in an address delivered 5th August, 1834, and published by *request* of the Society, after citing various texts to prove slavery warranted by the Bible, thus goes on:

"Here are then five places in the New Testament, where the duty of servants (slaves) is expressly and formally treated by way of *precept*, and one case of *example*, making six in all. In every one, the duty of obedience is insisted on, and in one or more, where the duty of masters is treated, there is not the least reference nor hint of the idea, that *Christian* masters should manumit their slaves; much less that other Christians should *preach manumission*. But I go farther; as I understand the Epistle to Timothy, and as it is understood by such commentators as I have consulted, there is an express injunction, applicable to those times and circumstances, NOT TO PREACH MANUMISSION."

We will not trouble ourselves at present with Mr. Hopkins's theology; but we may surely be permitted to inquire,

how it comes that the Constitution forbids Colonizationists to recommend and promote abolition, but gives them full liberty to oppose it? Why is the Constitution sacred, only when it guards the interests and soothes the conscience of the slave holder; and why is it a thing of nought, when Colonizationists would empty the vials of their wrath upon the heads of those who proclaim the sinfulness of slavery, and the duty and policy of immediate emancipation.*

Let us now scrutinize a little this plea of necessity, which is urged by Colonizationists with so much confidence in behalf of slavery. Does a Christian Society, do ministers of the gospel of Christ, maintain that it is *ever* necessary to violate the command of Jehovah—necessary to keep millions in ignorance of the revealed will of God? Necessary to trample upon human rights, and to outrage the plainest principles of justice and humanity? Do Protestants insist, that it is necessary to deny the Bible to more than one-third of the inhabitants of the Southern States? What necessity required that Missouri should be a slave State? What necessity multiplied the slaves in Alabama and Mississippi from three thousand to one hundred and eighty-two thousand, since the year 1800? What necessity prevented Kentucky from liberating her twelve thousand slaves in 1790, when New-York could liberate ten thousand in one day in 1827? What necessity will render Florida and Arkansas slave States? Why did not necessity prevent the abolition of slavery in South America, Mexico, and the West-Indies?

The Society, whose moral influence is to free us from slavery, not only quiets the conscience of the slave holder, by showing the lawfulness of slavery, but it promises to enhance the value of slave labor, and to divest it of a portion of that danger which usually attends it. Let us see how Colonization promotes the interests of slave holders;

* It is due to candor to state, that *all* the principles imputed in this work to Colonizationists, are not held by them indiscriminately. A few individuals have honorably and publicly disclaimed one or more of them. These disclaimers have however been made, we believe, without an exception, *since* the discussions excited by Abolitionists. No doubt many members would indignantly reject the doctrines on which we have commented. The pious and well-intentioned supporters of the Society, are just beginning to understand its true character, and hence the numerous converts from Colonization within the last twelve months.

and let us attend, in the first instance, to Mr. Archer of Virginia.

"He was not one of those (however desirable it might be, and was in abstract speculation) who looked to the complete removal of slavery among us. If that consummation were to be considered feasible at all, *it was at a period too remote to warrant the expenditure of any resources of contemplation or contribution now.* The progress of slavery was subjected to the action of a law of the utmost regularity of action. Where this progress was neither stayed nor modified by causes of collateral operation, it hastened with a frightful rapidity, disproportioned entirely to the ordinary law of the advancement of population, to its catastrophe, which was *repletion.*

"If none were *drained* away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate and production, inevitably and speedily redundant, first to the occasions of *profitable employment,* and as a consequence, to the facility of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners, fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort and subsistence of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies?

"Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided, and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately. *It was to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment. This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society.* * * * * *After* the present class of *free* blacks had been exhausted by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for its action, in the proportion *of the excess* of the colored population it would be *necessary* to throw off, by the pro-

ensuing their disproportionate multiplication. This depreciation would be *relieved* and retarded at the same time by the process. It was on grounds of interest, therefore, the most indispensable PECUNIARY INTEREST, that he addressed himself to the PEOPLE AND LEGISLATURES OF THE SLAVE HOLDING STATES." 15th *Report*, p. 22.

However we may be surprised at the indiscretion of the managers in printing and circulating this speech with their annual report, we cannot but admire its honest frankness. Here is no Colonization poetry, but plain common sense prose. No pictures of the African Elysium,—no anticipations of the conversion of millions and millions of Pagans, but intelligent remarks on the true means of perpetuating slavery, and keeping up the price of slaves. Knowing the utter futility of abolishing slavery by Colonization, Mr. Archer will not expend on that topic even his "contemplation." But the time will come when negroes will be so plenty that it will be difficult to find either work or food for them; and this state of things, if not prevented, will lead to the abolition of slavery. But the Society may prevent such a result by sending off the free blacks, and *after* they are gone, by sending off such slaves as may be manumitted; and by keeping open this drain, the undue multiplication of slaves will be prevented, and their depreciation in the market arrested.

Let us now attend to the managers themselves. In the 2d Report, p. 9, they declare that they confidently believe that the "Colonization of the *free* people of color, will render the slave who *remains* in America, more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and consequently more *useful* to his master."

Thus does the ONLY mode promote voluntary manumission, by enhancing the value of slaves!

"By removing the most fruitful sources of discontent (free blacks) from among our slaves, we should render them more industrious and attentive *to our commands*." *Address of Putnam (Georgia) Col. Society.*

"What greater pledge can we give for the moderation and safety of our measures, than our *own interests* as slave

holders, and the ties that bind us to the slave holding community to which we belong." *Speech of Mr. Key, Vice Prest.* 11th *Report,* p. 14.

"The *injury* they (the free blacks) do to the slave holders' *property*, by their influence upon his servants, would, if valued, amount to more than sufficient to convey them from us." *Address of Rev. J. C. Young to Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* IX. 59.

"To remove these persons from among us, will *increase the usefulness*, and improve the moral character, of those who remain in servitude, *and with whose labors the country is unable to dispense.*" *Address to a N. Carolina Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* III. 67.

"None are obliged to follow our example, and those who do not, will find the *value of their negroes increased*, by the departure of ours." *Kentucky Luminary.*

"The free negroes corrupt our slaves. From what has been adduced, the expediency of removing this NUISANCE from the community is clearly inferable, both in relation to their interests and *ours;* and this can only be attained by means of the Colonization Society." *Internal improvements of South-Carolina, by Robert Mills*, p. 15.

So much for the moral influence of the Society in abolishing slavery, by rendering it *profitable.* Now for its agency in rendering it *safe.*

"The tendency of the scheme, and one of its *objects*, is to SECURE slave holders, and the whole Southern country, against certain evil consequences growing out of the present three-fold mixture of our population." *Address of a Virginia Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* IV. 274.

"By removing these people, (free blacks,) we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design they may conceive." *Address to a Col. Soc. in Virginia. Af. Rep.* I. 176.

"Are they (the free blacks) VIPERS, sucking our blood? We will HURL them from us." *Address to Lynchburg Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* III. 201.

"By thus repressing the rapid increase of blacks, the white population would be enabled to reach, and soon overtop them; the consequence would be SECURITY." *Af. Rep.* IV. 344.

"The removal of *every single free black* in America, would be productive of nothing but SAFETY to the slave holder." *Af. Rep.* III. 202.

"So far from having a dangerous tendency, when properly considered, it will be viewed as an additional *guard* to our peculiar species of property." *New-Orleans Argus.*

"They (the objects of the American Colonization Society) are in the *first* place to aid *ourselves*, by relieving us from a species of population (free blacks) *pregnant with future danger*." *Speech of Gen. Harper, Vice President.* 7th *Report*, p. 7.

"I am a Virginian. I dread for her the corroding evil of this numerous caste, (free blacks.) I tremble for the danger of a disaffection spreading through their seduction, among *our servants*." *Address of I. B. Harrison. Af. Rep.* III. 197.

Thus does the Society aim at abolishing slavery, by declaring it lawful; increasing its profits, and lessening its dangers; and as we shall presently see, covering with obloquy, and denouncing as fanatics, all who dissent from its assertion, that this is "the only possible mode" of relieving the country from slavery.

And why is it the only possible mode? Because the laws of most of the slave States prohibit manumission at home, and therefore no master in those States could liberate his slaves, did not the Society enable him to evade the law, by sending his slaves to Africa. But who made these laws? Slave holders. Who alone can repeal these laws? Slave holders. Then slave holders prevent themselves from liberating their slaves; and hence it is optional with them to grant manumission or not. Hence Colonization is *not* the only possible mode of effecting abolition, since the slave holders, if they pleased, might easily discover "a more excellent way."

It will not probably be denied, that he who recommends a wicked act, or applauds it after it is committed, participates in the guilt of it; and as by the confession of Colonizationists, the laws in question prevent abolition, those who advise or approve those laws, partake of the guilt of continuing slavery. Let us now inquire in what relation the Colonization Society stands to these laws.

In the first place, let it be recollected that several of the Legislatures by whom these laws have been enacted, or by whom they are kept in force, have decidedly approved of the Society. Now listen to the official declaration of the Board of Managers.

"The Managers could with no propriety depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would further say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider *any* attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission, *unnecessary, premature, and dangerous.*" *Memorial of the American Col. Soc. to the several State Legislatures. Af. Rep.* II. 60.

We find here an illustration of the remarks in our introduction, on the *convenient* restraints of the Constitution. The managers are *restrained* from promoting *emancipation* by the Constitution, but they are at perfect liberty to promote the *permanency of slavery*, by denouncing manumission. And to whom is this denunciation made? To the very Legislatures who are striving to effect the same object by the laws we have mentioned. And yet Colonizationists mourn over the *misfortune* of the master who is prevented by *law* from liberating his slaves! But perhaps the language we have quoted was used inadvertently, and does not represent the sentiments of Colonizationists generally. Let us see.

"This law, (a law of Virginia, by which a manumitted negro becomes again a slave if he remains twelve months in the State,) odious and unjust as it may at first view appear, and hard as it may seem to bear upon the liberated negro, was doubtless dictated by *sound policy*, and its repeal would be regarded by none with *more unfeigned regret than the friends of African Colonization. It has restrained many masters from giving freedom to their slaves*, and has thereby contributed to check the growth of an evil already too great and formidable." *Memorial from Powhattan Col. Soc. to Virginia Legislature.*

"To set them (the slaves) loose among us, would be an evil more intolerable than slavery itself." *Report of Kentucky Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* VI. 81.

"As long as our present feelings and PREJUDICES exist,

the abolition of slavery cannot be accomplished without the removal of the blacks." 2d *Report N. York Soc.*

"If the question were submitted, whether there should be either immediate *or gradual* emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, without their removal, painful as it is to express the opinion, I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them." *Speech of Mr. Clay, V. President, to Kentucky Soc. Af. Rep.* VI. 5.

Here we find a Vice President of the Parent Society advocating perpetual slavery in preference to even *gradual* emancipation.

"They (Colonizationists) entertain the opinion generally, that if universal emancipation were practicable, neither the interest of the master, the happiness of the slave, nor the welfare of the colony which they have at heart, would make it desirable." *Mr. Barton's address to a Col. Soc. in Virginia. Af. Rep.* VI. 291.

"Resolved, That we superadd our decided opinion that Colonization ought to keep *equal* pace with manumission of people of color throughout the United States." *Proceedings of Col. meeting at Plattsburgh, N. Y.*, 4th *July*, 1833.

"*Any* scheme of emancipation, without Colonization, they know to be productive of nothing but evil." *Speech of Mr. Key, a Vice President. Af. Rep.* IV. 300.

"We would say, liberate them ONLY on condition of their going to Africa or Hayti." *Af. Rep.* III. 26.

"It is a well established point, that the public safety forbids *either* the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves." 7th *Report*, p. 94.

"So long as we can hold a pen, we will employ it heart and hand, against the advocates of immediate emancipation, or ANY emancipation that does not contemplate *expatriation*." *N. Y. Courier and Enquirer, a Col. paper*, 10th *July*, 1834.

"Emancipation, with liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic, is but an act of dreamy madness." *Speech of Mr. Custiss*, 13th *Report*, p. 8.

"What right, I demand, have the children of Africa to a homestead in the white man's country?" *Speech of Mr. Custiss*, 14th *Report*, p. 21.

It is a pity Mr. Custiss does not ask his conscience what

right *he* has to confine a child of Africa to a homestead on his own plantation; and why money was raised by public subscription to purchase permission for Philip Lee to leave a homestead to which he had no right?

What abundant cause for gratitude to Almighty God, have the Northern States, that the Colonization scheme was not devised some forty years sooner. Had the doctrines taught by the Society been then held by our statesmen and divines, the dark cloud of slavery would now be brooding over our whole land.

We have seen that the whole influence of the Society and of the colonizing Legislatures, is to vindicate and preserve and enforce the laws against manumission. And now, after defending and strengthening this barrier against human freedom, the Society glorifies itself for its benevolence in having opened a little crevice through which, in sixteen years, a few hundred captives, out of millions, have escaped! Had the Society and its friends opposed these laws, they would long since have been swept away, and thousands and tens of thousands would have been free, who are now pining in bondage. In 1782, Virginia repealed her restraining law, and in nine years 10,000 slaves were manumitted. The slave holders became alarmed,—their vocation was in danger of becoming disreputable, and the law was re-enacted.

We have all heard much of the evils resulting from the traffick in ardent spirits, and we know that multitudes are endeavoring to suppress it, by insisting that it is sinful, and that Christian duty requires its immediate abolition. Now let us suppose a Society for promoting the abolition of this traffick to be formed on the model of the Colonization Society, and ask ourselves how it would proceed, and what would be the prospect of its success. Such a Society would begin, by informing the venders, that it held their *property in rum* SACRED, and *respected* their *right* to sell it,—that as yet, it addressed arguments to no vender to induce him to abandon the traffick. That the traffick, it was true, was a political evil, but it was one they had unfortunately engaged in, and which the necessities of themselves and families *compelled* them to continue for the present,—that the Society *condemned no man* for being a rum-seller,—*that it had*

no connection with the fanatics and incendiaries who denounced the traffick as sinful, and demanded its immediate abolition. But, inasmuch as the Society knew that the venders were anxious to get rid of the rum they unfortunately possessed, it had appointed agents who would gratuitously afford their aid in removing and emptying rum-casks, and it trusted the *moral influence* of this proffered aid would, in a century or more, effect the total abolition of the traffick.

The absurdity of the conclusion, in the supposed case, is obvious; and did not prejudice impair our vision, we should see an equal absurdity in the professed expectations of Colonizationists. But is our illustration a parallel case? No; for our ideal Society does not profess to regard any other evil as greater than the indefinite continuance of the traffick, while the real one boldly and unequivocally declares for perpetual slavery in preference to emancipation, either immediate or gradual, without expatriation. Now if the expatriation of the whole body of slaves be both physically and morally impossible; if the slaves could not be transported and maintained in Africa, were the masters willing to surrender them; and if the masters would not surrender them, even if they could instantly be transported and maintained, then it follows irresistibly, that the moral influence of the American Colonization Society is to perpetuate slavery in the United States. And may we not confidently appeal to the consciences of our readers, and ask, will you not confess, that you have no hope of the abolition of slavery by expatriation? If this confession be made, and we flatter ourselves it will not be withheld, then again would we appeal to their consciences, and ask, whether it is possible to countenance the Colonization Society while it holds its present principles, and pursues its present policy, without contributing to the indefinite continuance of slavery? Before this question is answered, we request attention to the proofs that this Society is in fact

AN ANTI-ABOLITION ASSOCIATION.

On the 9th January, 1828, Mr. Harrison, of Virginia, in addressing the Society at its annual meeting, used the

following language: "The Society having declared that it is in no wise allied to any *Abolition* Society in America or elsewhere, is ready when there is need, TO PASS A CENSURE upon such Societies in America." 11th *Report*, p. 14.

The pledge thus given in behalf, and in the presence of the Society, was published and circulated by the Board of Managers. It was a gross violation of the Constitution, and an unblushing outrage on the multiplied professions of the Society, that its *only* object was the Colonization of free blacks. But we cannot understand the full meaning and unholy nature of this pledge, without adverting to the Abolition Societies to which it related. This pledge, be it remembered, had no reference to the associations *now* known as *Anti-Slavery Societies*, and which are accused of a design to destroy the Union—to drench the land in human gore, and to produce by marriage an amalgamation of color. Such Societies were unknown, such charges unheard of, when this pledge was given. The Abolition Societies which were to be censured, were Societies founded by JAY and FRANKLIN, and which advocated *gradual* emancipation.

The first Society ever formed, it is believed, for the abolition of slavery, was organized in the city of New-York, January 1785, under the presidency of JOHN JAY. The principles maintained by this Society, may be gathered from the preamble to its Constitution.

"The benevolent Creator and Father of all men, having given them all an *equal* right to life, liberty, and property, no sovereign power on earth can justly deprive them of either, but in conformity to impartial government, and laws, to which they have expressly or tacitly consented. It is our duty, therefore, as free citizens and Christians, not only to regard with compassion the injustice done to those among us, who are held as slaves, but to endeavor, by lawful means, to enable them to *share equally with us in the civil and religious liberty* with which an indulgent Providence has blessed these States, and to which these our brethren *are by nature as much entitled as ourselves.*"

The next Abolition Society was that of Pennsylvania, founded in 1787, under the presidency of FRANKLIN. Slave holders were expressly excluded. The Constitution declares, that it has pleased "the Creator of the

world to make of one flesh all the children of men," and that it is the especial duty of those who acknowledge the obligations of Christianity, to use such means as are in their power to extend the blessings of freedom "to every part of our race."

Abolition Societies gradually multiplied, and exercised a salutary influence in promoting emancipation at the North. But they were not confined to the North; they soon sprang up in the slave States, and scattered and feeble rays of light began to pierce the dense cloud which brooded over the Southern country. Unity of action and of purpose, was secured by triennial conventions of delegates from the several Societies. No organized opposition had ever been offered to these associations. The moral sense of the community, unperverted by Colonization, would not *then* have tolerated the scenes we have since witnessed. The respect in which Abolition Societies were held, is evinced by the following extract from the journals of Congress:

"*House of Representatives*, 18*th Feb.* 1809.

"Resolved, that the Speaker be requested to acknowledge the receipt and *acceptance* of Clarkson's History of Slavery, presented by the American Convention, for promoting the abolition of slavery, and improving the condition of the Africans, and that the said work be deposited in the library." The Speaker accordingly returned an official letter of thanks to the Convention.

Only *three months* before Mr. Harrison, as herald of the Colonization Society, proclaimed war against Abolition Societies, the Convention met at Baltimore, the capital of a slave State. To this Convention delegates or communications were sent from the following Abolition Societies, viz:

New-York,	Andover, Mass.
Rhode-Island,	Williams College, Mass.
Pennsylvania,	Loudon Co. Virginia,
Western Pennsylvania,	N. Carolina, with 40 branches,
Maryland, with 5 branches,	Delaware,
Tennessee,	Centreville, Penn.
West Tennessee,	Brownsville, do.
Munro Co. Ohio.	

This Convention, among other measures, petitioned

Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and exhorted the friends of Abolition to use their efforts to procure "the removal of all existing legal impediments in the way of educating the people of color." Such was the promising state of public feeling, at the very moment when the Colonization Society announced its crusade against Abolition. The vigor, and constancy with which it has been carried on to the present time, are known to all who have watched its progress. The Abolition Societies, and their conventions, have withered under the "censure" of their powerful enemy, and have shrunk from public notice. Within the last two years, they have been partially succeeded by more sturdy associations, named Anti-Slavery Societies, which, instead of quailing beneath the frowns of their foe, have dared to grapple with him in mortal conflict, and to stake the hopes of freedom on the issue. If, in this struggle, Abolitionists have not always distinguished themselves by their courteous bearing, let it be recollected, that they believe the happiness of millions depends on their efforts; and, also, that by their haughty adversary, they have been treated as wretches who deserve punishment; not as the generous and disinterested champions of the oppressed and friendless. Let us observe the manner in which they are assailed by members of a *religious* Society.

"It (the Society) is nowise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a *few fanatics* in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery." *Af. Rep.* III. 197.

"Come ye Abolitionists, away with your *wild enthusiasm*, your misguided philanthropy." *Af. Rep.* VII. 100.

"Resolved, that we view all attempts to prejudice the public mind, or excite the popular feeling, on the subject of slavery, as unwise and injurious, and adapted to perpetuate the evil which it is proposed to eradicate." *Col. Meeting at Northampton, Mass. Af. Rep.* VIII. 283.

After a public discussion of the Colonization scheme in Utica, the Common Council came to the rescue of the Society, by discharging resolutions against the Abolitionists. For example:

"Whereas, certain individuals now in our city, are *dis-*

turbing the peace of the good citizens thereof, by inculcating sentiments which we deem *demoralizing* in themselves, and little short of TREASON towards the government of our country," &c.

"Resolved, that, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the solemn duty of every patriot and philanthropist, to discountenance and OPPOSE the efforts of Anti-Slavery Societies." *Col. Soc. of Middletown, Conn.* 6th *March*, 1834.

It would have been of course, unconstitutional to *aid* these efforts; but it seems the Society had full authority to oppose them. In short, with Colonization Societies, every thing is constitutional that is expedient, and nothing that is not.

"The emancipation, to which this resolution directs your attention, is not that *unconstitional* and dangerous emancipation, contemplated by a few visionary enthusiasts, and a still fewer number of *reckless incendiaries* among us." *Speech of Chancellor Walworth at Col. Meeting in N. York*, 9th *Oct.* 1833.

"I avail myself of this opportunity, to enter my solemn protest against the attempts which are making by a *few fanatics*. Let us talk no more of nullification; the doctrine of immediate emancipation is a direct and palpable nullification of that Constitution which we have SWORN to support." *Speech of D. B. Ogden at New-York Col. Meeting.*

"The great object of the founders (of the Society) was to do good: not in the way that modern *fanatics propose*, by increasing injury and sealing oppression." *Speech of Hon. T. Freelinghuysen, V. President at New-York Col. Meeting.*

The Abolitionists in New-York, gave notice of a meeting for forming a City Anti-Slavery Society. In reference to this notice, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the New-York Colonization Society, Mr. Stone, published in his paper, 2d Oct. 1833, the following:

"Is it possible, that our citizens can look quietly on, while the flames of discord are rising? while even our pulpits are sought to be used for the base PURPOSE of encouraging scenes of *bloodshed* in our land. If we do,

can we look our Southern brethren in the face and say, we are opposed to interfering with their rights? No, we cannot."

The hint thus kindly given, was readily taken, and a mob of five thousand scattered the Abolitionists. After another mob, in July, had assaulted the dwellings and temples of Abolitionists, this officer of a Christian benevolent Society, thus stated the CONDITION on which Abolitionists might be permitted to enjoy the common rights of American citizens, security of person, and freedom of speech, the press, and religious worship.

"While then our civil authorities should receive the aid of every good citizen, in their efforts to put down the mobs *now* nightly engaged in deeds of violence, yet there should be *a distinct understanding*, that the protection of *law*, and the aid of the military can *only* be enjoyed or expected, ON CONDITION, that the causes of these mischiefs shall be abated, and the outrages upon public feeling, from the FORUM, the PULPIT, and the PRESS, shall no more be repeated by these reckless incendiaries." *Commercial Advertiser*, 11th *July*, 1834.

Another Colonization Editor* published the same day, and while the mob were committing their grossest outrages, the following article:

"Now we tell them, (the Abolitionists) that when they openly and publicly promulgate doctrines, which outrage public feeling, they have no right to demand protection of the people they insult. Ought not we ask our city authorities to make them understand this—to tell them, that they prosecute their TREASONABLE and BEASTLY plans at their own peril?" *N. Y. Courier and Enquirer*, 11th *July*, 1834.

On conditions similar to those proposed by these gentlemen, the Roman emperors were ever ready to afford protection to the Christian martyrs; nor did the Spanish Inquisition require more, than that none should "promulgate doctrines" it disapproved.

Far be it from us to insinuate, that the conduct of these two editors was in conformity with the advice or wishes of any respectable Colonizationists; and candor requires the

* Mr. James Watson Webb.

acknowledgment, that we have never heard it justified; but it is unfortunately true, that the insults they have poured upon Abolitionists, have been countenanced by the example of gentlemen from whom better things were expected. All this violence and obloquy are not without an object; and that object is INTIMIDATION. Utterly vain is the hope of maintaining the cause of Colonization, or of suppressing that of Abolition, by *discussion*. In *every instance* in which Colonizationists have ventured to meet their opponents in public disputation, they have invariably retired with diminished strength. Hence great efforts have been made by Colonizationists, and by the advocates of slavery, to prevent the public from even listening to the facts and arguments adduced by the Abolitionists. After a mob of five thousand had assembled to prevent the formation of the New-York Anti-Slavery Society—after the most unfounded calumnies had been spread through the community against its members, the Society published an address, explaining their real sentiments and objects. One would have thought it an act of common justice, to give this address a candid perusal; but such an act would not have been *expedient*, and accordingly the zealous editor of the Commercial Advertiser, thus endeavored to prevent it.

"We are quite sure, that a discerning public will consign it to oblivion, by abstaining from a purchase of the *pestilent* document. Their curiosity, we *hope*, will not overstep their discretion, in furthering the purposes of the authors, by its dissemination. Let this flagitious address descend to the tomb of the Capulets. The address in extenso, *we* have not read."

The Abolitionists, on the contrary, are so far from *fearing* the effects of discussion, that they are ever anxious to promote it; and when an acrimonious Colonization pamphlet* appeared against them, they provokingly advertised it for sale, and urged the public to read it.†

It has been thought more easy to silence, than to answer the Abolitionists; and hence pains have been taken to prevent the public from listening to them, by representing

* Reese's Review.

† See the New-York Emancipator.

them, sometimes as fools and fanatics, and at others as designing wretches contemplating the most flagitious crimes.

In the war now waging between the Abolitionists and Colonizationists, a third party has come to the aid of the latter. Those who maintain the sinfulness of slavery, and the safety and duty of immediate emancipation, plant themselves on scriptural ground, and urge the promises, and threats, and commands of the word of God. They professedly act as Christians, and only as Christians; and it cannot be supposed that the infidel portion of the community view with indifference an opportunity of wounding Christianity through its zealous disciples. At the same time, the absence of Christian motive as a principle of the Colonization scheme, and the countenance given by that scheme to most unchristian prejudices, naturally invite anti-christian support. Certain it is, that many infidel newspapers are zealous advocates of Colonization, and that the mobs of our cities are always ready to espouse the cause of the Society.

There is no evidence, that with the exception of certain editors, the mobs which disgraced the city of New-York the last summer, were instigated by members of the Society; yet these mobs were its avowed champions. The first mob assembled on the 9th July, at the Chatham-street Chapel, the place in which some anti-slavery meetings had recently been held; and *breaking* open the doors, took possession of the building. They then organized, and appointing a chairman, *passed resolutions approving of the Colonization Society;* and by a formal vote, adjourned till the *next meeting* of the Anti-Slavery Society,—a very significant hint. The following guarded notice of this transaction, appeared next day in one of the journals.

"From the non-assemblage of the persons who had designed to occupy the Chapel, it was evident that the objects of the meeting had been abandoned, and the *friends of Colonization* thereupon entered, organized a meeting, passed resolutions in favor of their own opinions, and peaceably dispersed." *N. Y. Daily Advertiser.*

The mob did indeed adjourn *as a Colonization meeting*, but they had too much business on their hands to *disperse*. They *immediately* proceeded to vindicate the honor of the

American name, by mobbing the Bowery Theatre, in revenge for some insulting expressions said to have been used by an English actor.

"After finishing their work at the Bowery Theatre, the mob, (says the New-York Journal of Commerce,) in a very excited state, repaired to the residence of Lewis Tappan, (a prominent Abolitionist,) and attacked it with bricks and stones. The door, window-blinds, shutters, &c., were soon demolished, after which the mob entered, broke up the furniture, and made a bonfire of it in the street." Such was the commencement of four days of riot and outrage, by the admirers of "the benevolent Colonization system." The managers of the city Colonization Society, mortified at the character and conduct of their new allies, published a card declaring that the "*tumultuous meetings*" at which certain resolutions had been passed approving the objects of the New-York Colonization Society, "had been held without any previous knowledge of the Board," and recommending to every *friend* of the cause of Colonization to abstain "from all participation in proceedings *subversive of the rights of individuals, or in violation of the public peace.*" When before have the friends of a *religious* and *benevolent* cause needed *such* a recommendation?

The Journal of Commerce, a Colonization paper, assigns *infidelity* as one of the causes of the riots.

"It was noticed, (it observes,) as a fact full of instruction, that last Sunday night, when many of the churches and lecture rooms were closed for fear of the mob, Tammany Hall was brilliantly lighted up for the meeting of infidels, who carried on their mummery without the slightest apprehension of danger. The buildings which have been attacked, are six churches, (belonging to four different denominations,) one school-house, occupied as a church, three houses of clergymen, a house and store, occupied by elders of churches, and a number of houses occupied by colored families. Thus, with the exception of some colored persons, the vengeance of the mob has been exclusively directed against churches, ministers, and elders. At the sacking of Mr. Tappan's house, a fellow was heard to say, that every rascal of a church member ought to be thrown off the dock, or to that effect. We think, therefore, we

see inscribed on the banner of this guilty throng, ENMITY TO THE CROSS OF CHRIST."

Yet this guilty throng commenced its operations with approving the Colonization Society.

In Utica, after a public discussion on Colonization, a mob assembled and burned in effigy a clergyman who had taken part against the Society; and also a layman who had become distinguished for his zeal in the temperance cause; and a bundle of Temperance Recorders was committed to the flames.

The following is from the New-York Courier and Enquirer, 12th May, 1834, and is part of an article in defence of the Colonization Society, and in vituperation of the Abolitionists.

"Colleges and institutions are every year founded, not for the purposes of general education, but to initiate a new *race of monks and fanatics in the arts and mysteries of clerical ambition*, to teach them how best to subjugate the human mind, and render female weakness subservient to well disciplined jesuitism. One half of our colleges are nothing more than seminaries for educating uncompromising bigots," &c. &c. In this very same article, we are assured that "the Colonization Society holds out the ONLY rational and practicable mode of bringing about the emancipation of the blacks;" and we are warned against the "*accursed*, and disorganizing, and incendiary devices," of the Abolitionists.

Soon after the mobs, a poem was published, entitled "Fanaticism Unveiled." The author, in his advertisement, declaims against the "crusade which is now waged by a few wretched fanatics against the Colonization Society." Of the religious character of this poetical champion of the Society, some estimate may be made from the following lines:—

"And do not dunces spend their cash on
Such things as we have brought in fashion?
Fictitious tales in aid of piety,
Invented for the Tract Society.
Sectarian Seminaries made
To teach the true fanatic trade;
And schools where infancy is told,
That while one world is paved with gold,
Another lying somewhat lower,
With children's skulls is sprinkled o'er."

The Society unquestionably comprises a vast number of as pure and devoted Christians as can be found in this, or any other country; and we are fully persuaded, they verily believe, that in supporting Colonization, they are doing God service. The zealous co-operation they are now receiving from persons of very opposite character from themselves, should lead them to inquire whether they may not be mistaken.

It certainly does not follow, that a system must be bad, because bad men support it; but it does follow, that when mobs and infidels espouse a particular object, it is because that object is recommended to them by other than religious considerations. Yet Colonizationists are fond of representing their Society as a *religious* institution; and the ministers of the Gospel are earnestly urged to preach annual sermons in its behalf.

That multitudes of religious men belong to the Society, is not denied, but the participation of such men in an object, does not necessarily render it a religious object: otherwise the slave trade was a Christian commerce, because John Newton was a slave holder; and Free Masonry must be a holy fraternity, since it can boast the names of more good men, than were ever enrolled in the ranks of Colonization. But in what sense can the Society be termed a religious one? It is not professedly founded on any one principle of the Gospel of Christ. It exercises no one act of benevolence towards the free blacks in this country; and in transporting them to Africa, it is by its own confession removing nuisances. It takes no measures to Christianize Africa, but landing on its shores an ignorant and vicious population. It employs no missionary, it sends no Bible, and it cannot point to a single native, converted to the faith of Jesus, through its instrumentality. On the contrary, may we not, in reference to the facts disclosed in the preceding pages, affirm, without the imputation of bigotry or prejudice, that the general influence of the Society, is decidedly anti-christian. We have seen that it practically tends to the debasement and persecution of the free blacks; to the hardening of the consciences of the slave holders, and to the indefinite continuance of slavery.

The objects of the Society, as stated in the declarations of its orators, are of such vast importance, and such godlike

benevolence, that it is no wonder good men have been so dazzled by the gorgeous visions presented to their imaginations, as to have omitted to scrutinize the machinery by which these visions are to be realized.

No one surely needs an apology for having believed in Colonization, when WILBERFORCE could thus express himself.

"You have gladdened my heart by convincing me, that sanguine as had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your institution, all my anticipations are scanty and cold compared with the reality." *Letter to Mr. Cresson.* 15th *Report*, p. 15.

No one surely needs to blush at acknowledging that he has been deceived in the Society, since WILBERFORCE placed his name at the head of a protest against it. The following extract from this protest will show how truly the Society is *now* estimated by British philanthropists.

"Our objections to it, are briefly these: while we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America, against the colored people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected—that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant, that it widens the breach between the two races—exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate; and finally is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God, and the well being of man, whether of the enslaver, or the enslaved. We must be understood *utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society.*"

The opponents of slavery in England, as well as here, at first hailed the Society as an auxiliary, and the Anti-slavery Societies there, in the warmth of their zeal, began to remit contributions to its funds: by these same people, the Society is now regarded with detestation. Probably no religious periodical, possesses in an equal degree, the confidence of the religious community here, as the London

Christian Observer. The Observer formerly commended the Society. Hear the present sentiments of its late Editor, the distinguished Z. Macauley, Esq. M. P.

"The unchristian prejudice of color, which alone has given birth to the Colonization Society, though varnished over with other more plausible pretences, and veiled under a profession of Christian regard, for the temporal and spiritual interests of the negro, which is belied by the whole course of its reasonings, and the spirit of its measures, is so detestable in itself, that I think it ought not to be tolerated; but on the contrary ought to be denounced and opposed by all humane, and especially all pious persons in this country." *Letter of* 14th *July*, 1833, *to Mr. Garrison.*

For a quarter of a century, William Allen, a London quaker, has been prominent in every good work, and his name is familiar to all acquainted with the great Catholic institutions of England. This eminent and zealous philanthropist thus writes:

"Having heard thy exposition of the origin and main object of the American Colonization Society, at the meeting on the 13th instant, at Exeter Hall, and *having read their own printed documents*, I scarcely know how adequately to express my surprise and indignation, that my correspondents in North America should not have informed me of the real principles of the said Society; and also, that Elliott Cresson, knowing as he must have known the abominable sentiments it has printed and published, should have condescended to become its agent." *Letter* 15th, *of* 7th *Month*, 1833.

Mr. Buxton, the successor of Mr. Wilberforce as the parliamentary leader in the cause of Abolition thus expresses himself:

"My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr. Cropper, when he termed its objects *diabolical.*" *Letter of July* 12th, 1833.

But is it only in Britain, that good men have found themselves disappointed in the Society? Who compose our present Anti-slavery Societies? Pious conscientious men, who, with scarcely an exception, were formerly advo-

cates of Colonization. A clergyman of Massachusetts, in the following passage expresses the sentiments of a numerous and increasing body.

"I have been constrained to withdraw my confidence and co-operation from this scheme. It is a scheme in which I was once deeply interested. I have spoken, and preached, and written and taken contributions in its behalf. I did not then understand the real nature and tendency of the scheme. I meant well in espousing it, but I now see my error and my sin; and though it was a sin of ignorance, I desire to repent of it."

Almost daily do we hear of Colonizationists awaking as from a dream, and expressing their astonishment and regret at the delusion into which they had fallen.

To the Christian members of the Society, we would now address ourselves, and ask, have we not *proved* enough to induce you to pause, to examine, and to pray, before you longer lend your names, and contribute your funds to the purposes of Colonization? Do no secret misgivings of conscience now trouble you; and are you perfectly sure that in supporting the Society, you are influenced by the precepts of the Gospel, and not by prejudice against an unhappy portion of the human family? If, on a full investigation of the subject, you discover that Colonization is not what you believed and hoped it was, remember that it is your duty to obviate, as far as possible, by a frank and open declaration of your opinion, the evil your example has done. Be not ashamed, be not slow to follow Wilberforce in entering your protest against the Society. If that Society leads to the degradation and oppression of the poor colored man—if it resists every effort to free the slave—if it misleads the conscience of the slave holder, you are bound, your God requires you to oppose it, not in secret, but before the world. Soon will you stand at the judgment seat of Christ; there will you meet the free negro, the slave, and the master—take care lest they all appear as witnesses against you.

PART II.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

Principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Character of American Slavery.

The principles professed by the American Anti-Slavery Society, are set forth in the following articles of its Constitution, viz :—

Article 2. The objects of this Society, are the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State, in which slavery exists, has by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in that State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow citizens by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slave-holding is a heinous crime in the sight of God; and that the duty, safety and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor in a Constitutional way to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade; and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country, which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may hereafter be admitted to the Union.

Art. 3. This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice; that thus they may according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but the Soci-

ety will never in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights, by resorting to physical force.

Art. 4. Any person *who consents to the principles of* this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a slave-holder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at its meetings."

Here we have great moral principles frankly and unequivocally avowed; the objects to be pursued are distinctly stated; and none are permitted to join in the pursuit of these objects without assenting to the principles which avowedly render their attainment desirable. The whole structure of the Society therefore, is totally different from the Colonization Society. This being founded on principle, that on expediency. This availing itself, only of certain professed motives, that inviting the co-operation of motives of all sorts, however contradictory.

In order to judge of the fitness of the *objects* contemplated by the Society, we must first inquire into the soundness of the *principles* by which they are recommended.

The first great principle of the Society, and indeed the one from which all the others are deduced, is the *sinfulness of slavery*. To determine whether slavery as it exists in the United States is sinful, we must know what it is. Where an institution is unavoidably liable to great abuses, those abuses may fairly be taken in account, in estimating its true character; but in order to avoid all captious objections, we will now inquire, what are the lawful, or rather legal features of American slavery, and we will leave wholly out of view, all acts of oppression and cruelty not expressly sanctioned by law. The following definitions of American slavery, are, it will be perceived from high authority.

"A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but which must belong to his master." *Louisiana Code, Art.* 3.

"Slaves shall be deemed, taken, reputed and adjudged to be chattels personal in the hands of their masters and possessors, to all intents and purposes whatsoever." *Laws of South-Carolina—Brevard's Digest*, 229.

It will be observed that these definitions apply to slaves without distinction of sex or age.

But not only are those now in servitude, but their children after them, the subjects of these definitions.

The law of South-Carolina says of slaves, "all their issue and offspring born or to be born, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be and remain FOREVER HEREAFTER absolute slaves, and shall follow the condition of the mother."

Slavery is not confined to *color*. Mr. Paxton a Virginia writer, declares that, "the best blood in Virginia, flows in the veins of slaves." In the description lately given of a fugitive slave, in the public papers, it was stated, "He has sometimes been mistaken for a white man." The following from a Missouri paper, proves that a white man, may, without a *mistake* be adjudged a slave.

"A case of a slave suing for his freedom, was tried a few days since in Lincoln County, of which the following is a brief statement of the particulars: A youth of about ten years of age sued for his freedom on the ground that he was a free white person. The court granted his petition to sue as a pauper upon inspection of his person. Upon his trial before the jury he was examined by the jury and by two learned physicians, all of whom concurred in the opinion that very little if any trace of negro blood could be discovered by any of the external appearances. All the physiological marks of distinctions which characterize the African descent had disappeared.

"His skin was fair, his hair soft, straight, fine and white, his eyes blue, but rather disposed to the hazle-nut color; nose prominent, the lips small and completely covering the teeth, his head round and well formed, forehead high and prominent, the ears large, the tibia of the leg straight, the feet hollow. Notwithstanding these evidences of his claims, he was proven to be the descendant of a mulatto woman, and that his progenitors on his mother's side had been and still were slaves; consequently he was found to be a SLAVE."

The laws of South-Carolina and Virginia expressly recognize *Indian* slaves.

Not only do the laws acknowledge and protect existing

slavery, but they provide for reducing free persons to *hereditary* bondage. In South-Carolina, *fines* are imposed on free negroes for certain offences, and in default of payment, they are made slaves. If a colored citizen of any other State enters Georgia, he is fined, and if he cannot raise the money, he is sentenced to perpetual slavery, and his children after him. In Maryland if a free negro marries a white, the negro becomes a slave. In almost every slave State, if a free negro cannot *prove* that he is free, he is by law sold at public auction as a slave for life. This is both law and practice in the district of Columbia, and with the sanction of the Congress of the United States. In no civilized country but the slave States, are children punished for the crimes of their parents; but in these, the children of free blacks, to the latest posterity are condemned to servitude for the trivial offences, and often for the most innocent acts of their ancestors.

It necessarily follows from the legal definitions we have given of a slave, that he is subjected to *an absolute and irresponsible despotism.*

The master has in point of *fact* the same power over his slave, that he has over his horse. Some few laws there may be, forbidding the master to treat his slave with cruelty, and so the common law every where forbids cruelty to beasts; but it is far easier to enforce the latter than the former. Any spectator of cruelty to a beast, may ordinarily be a witness against the offender; but a slave may be mutilated or murdered with impunity in the presence of hundreds, provided their complexions are colored: and even should the crime be proved by competent testimony, the master is to be tried by a court and jury who are all interested in maintaining the supreme authority of slave-holders. But although no laws can in fact restrain the power of the master, yet laws to a certain degree, indicate what kind of treatment is tolerated by public opinion. Thus when we find the laws of South-Carolina *limiting* the time which slaves may be compelled to labor, to fifteen hours a day, we may form some opinion of the amount of toil which Southern masters think it right to inflict upon the slaves; and when we recollect, that the laws of Maryland, Virginia and Georgia forbid that the criminals in their penitentia-

ries shall be made to labor more than ten hours a day; we discover the relative place which white felons, and unoffending slaves, occupy in the sympathies of slave-holders.

The slave is, at all times, liable to be punished at the pleasure of his master; and although the law does not warrant him in *murdering* the slave, it expressly justifies him in *killing* him, if he dares to resist. That is, if the slave does not submit to any chastisement, which a brutal master may of his sovereign pleasure choose to inflict, he may legally be shot through the head.

In South-Carolina, if a slave be killed "on a sudden heat or passion, or *by undue correction*," the murderer is to pay a fine and be imprisoned six months. What would be thought of such a punishment for the murder of a white apprentice?

In Missouri, a master is by law expressly authorized to imprison his slave during pleasure, and thus may a human being be legally incarcerated for life without trial, or even the allegation of a crime. The despotism of the slave holder is a negociable despotism; it is daily and hourly bought and sold, and may at any moment be delegated to the most brutal of the species.

The slave, being himself property, can own no property. He may labor fifteen hours a day, but he acquires nothing by his labor. In South-Carolina, a slave is not *permitted* to keep a boat, or to raise and breed for his own benefit, any horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs, under pain of forfeiture, and *any person* may take such articles from him.

In Georgia, the master is fined thirty dollars for *suffering* his slave to hire himself to another for his own benefit. In Maryland the master forfeits thirteen dollars for each month that his slave is permitted to receive wages on his own account.

In Virginia, every master is finable who *permits* a slave to work for himself at wages. In North-Carolina, "all horses, cattle, hogs, or sheep, that shall belong to any slave, or be of any slave's mark in this State, shall be seized and sold by the County Wardens."

In Mississippi, the master is forbidden, under the pe-

nalty of fifty dollars, to let a slave raise cotton for himself, "or to keep stock of any description."

Such is the anxiety of the slave laws to repress every benevolent desire of the master to promote in the slightest degree the independence of the slave.

Slaves, being property, are like cattle liable to be leased and mortgaged by their owners, or sold on execution for debt.

A slave having no rights, cannot appear in a court of justice to ask for redress of injuries. So far as he is the subject of injury, the law regards him only as a brute, and redress can only be demanded and received by the owner. The slave may be beaten, (robbed he cannot be) his wife and children may be insulted and abused in his presence, and he can no more institute an action for damages, than his master's horse. But cannot he be protected by his master's right of action? No. The master must prove *special* injury to his property, to recover damages. Any man may, with perfect impunity, whip another's slave, unless he so injure him as to occasion "a loss of service, or at least a diminution of the faculty of the slave for bodily labor." Such is the decision of the Supreme Court of Maryland. In Louisiana, if a third person maim a slave, so that he is "forever rendered unable to work," the offender pays to the owner the value of the slave, and is also to be at the expense of his maintenance; but the unfortunate slave, mutilated or crippled for life, receives not the slightest compensation. The master's right of action is a protection to his *property*, not to the comfort or security of the slave; indeed, it tends to degrade the latter to the level of the other live stock on his master's farm.

A necessary consequence of slavery, is the absence of the marriage relation. No slave can commit bigamy, because the law knows no more of the marriage of slaves, than it does of the marriage of brutes. A slave may, indeed, be formally married, but so far as legal rights and obligations are concerned, it is an idle ceremony. His wife may, at any moment, be legally taken from him, and sold in the market. The slave laws utterly *nullify* the injunction of the Supreme Lawgiver—"What God hath joined, let not man put asunder."

Of course, these laws recognize not the parental relation as belonging to slaves. A slave has no more legal authority over his child, than a cow over her calf.

The Legislatures of the slave States, when legislating respecting slaves, seem regardless alike of the claims and the affections of our common nature. No right is more sacred, or more universally admitted, than that of self-preservation; but the wretched slave, whether male or female, is denied the right of self-defence against the brutality of any person whomsoever having a white skin. Thus the law of Georgia declares, "if any slave shall presume to strike any *white* person, upon trial or conviction before the Justice or Justices, according to the directions of this act, shall, for the first offence, suffer such punishment as the said Justice or Justices shall in their discretion think fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the second offence, suffer DEATH."

The same law prevails in South-Carolina, except that death is the penalty for the third offence.

In Maryland, the Justice may order the offender's ears to be cropped. In Kentucky, "any negro, mulatto, or *indian*, bond or *free*," who "shall at any time *lift his hand* in opposition to *any* white person, shall receive thirty lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on, by order of the Justice."

In South-Carolina, "If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slaves shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slaves, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any* white person, it shall be lawful for *any* white person to pursue, apprehend, and *moderately correct* such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be LAWFULLY KILLED."

We have seen that the slave laws regard the slave, so far as human rights and enjoyments, and social relations are concerned, as a mere brute; we are now to see, that so far as he can be made to *suffer* for his acts, he is regarded as an intelligent and responsible being.

Divine equity has established the rule, that the servant which knew not his master's will, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with *few* stripes. If

there was ever a case to which this rule was applicable, it is to the unlettered, ignorant, brutalized slave, intentionally deprived of the ability to read the laws of God or man. A code of laws prepared for the government of such beings, one would suppose would be distinguished for its lenity; and in the mildness of its penalties, would form a striking contrast to a code for the government of the enlightened and instructed part of the community, whose offences would, of course, be aggravated by the opportunities they had enjoyed of learning their duty. Alas, the slave code punishes acts not *mala in se* with a rigor which public opinion would not tolerate for a moment, if exercised towards *white* felons, and it visits *crimes* with penalties far heavier, when committed by the poor ignorant slave, than it does when they are perpetrated by the enlightened citizen.

Thus in Georgia, *any* person may inflict twenty lashes on the bare back of a slave found without license off the plantation, or without the limits of the town to which he belongs. So also in Mississippi, Virginia, and Kentucky, at the discretion of a Justice.

In South-Carolina and Georgia, *any* person finding more than seven slaves together in the highway without a white person, may give each one twenty lashes.

In Kentucky, Virginia, and Missouri, a slave, for keeping a gun, powder, shot, a *club*, or other weapon whatsoever, offensive or defensive, may be whipped thirty-nine lashes by order of a Justice.

In North-Carolina and Tennessee, a slave travelling without a pass, or being found in another person's negro quarters, or *kitchen*, may be whipped forty lashes, and *every* slave, in whose company the visitor is found, twenty lashes.

In Louisiana, a slave for being on *horseback*, without the written permission of his master, incurs twenty-five lashes; *for keeping a dog*, the like punishment.

By the law of Maryland, for "rambling," riding, or going abroad in the night, or riding horses in the day time, without leave, a slave may be whipt, *cropt* or *branded* on the cheek with the letter R, or otherwise punished, not extending to life, or so *as to render him unfit for labor*."

Such are a *few* specimens only of the punishments

inflicted on slaves, for acts not criminal, and which it is utterly impossible they should generally know, are forbidden by law.

Let us now view the laws of the slave States in relation to *crimes*, and we shall find that their severity towards blacks and whites, is in inverse ratio to the moral guilt of the offenders.

In Virginia, the laws have recently been revised, and by the revised code, there are seventy-one offences for which the penalty is DEATH, when committed by slaves, and *imprisonment* when by whites.*

In Mississippi, the number of these offences are thirty-eight, or rather many of them are not punishable at all, when committed by whites: as, for instance, *attempting* to burn out-buildings, to commit forgery, to steal a horse, &c., &c.

Imprisonment of a slave as a punishment for crime, except in Louisiana, is utterly unknown in the slave States. To shut him up in prison, would be depriving his master of his labor, and burthening the public with his maintenance; it is, therefore, more economical to flog him for trifles, and to hang him for serious offences.

Where human life is held so cheap, and human suffering so little regarded; it is not to be expected that the dispensers of slave justice will submit to be troubled with all those forms and ceremonies which the common law has devised for the protection of innocence. We have seen that, in many instances, *any white person* may instanter discharge the functions of judge, jury, and executioner. In innumerable instances, all these functions are united in a single justice of the peace; and in South-Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana, LIFE may be taken, according to law, without the intervention of grand or petit jurors. In other States, a trial by jury is granted in *capital* cases; but in no one State, it is believed, is it thought worth while to trouble a *grand jury* with presenting a slave. In most of the slave States, the ordinary tribunal for the trial of slaves charged with offences not capital, is com-

* An enumeration of these offences, together with references to the statutes alluded to in this work, may be found in "Stroud's sketch of the slave laws."

posed of justices and freeholders, or of justices only. A white man cannot be convicted of misdemeanor, except by the unanimous verdict of twelve of his peers. In Louisiana, if the Court is *equally divided* as to the guilt of a slave, judgment is rendered *against him.*

In 1832, *thirty-five* slaves were executed at Charleston, in pursuance of the sentence of a court, consisting of two justices and five freeholders, on a charge of intended insurrection. No indictments, no summoning of jurors, no challenges for cause or favor, no seclusion of the triers from intercourse with those who might bias their judgment, preceded this unparalleled legal destruction of human life.

The slave being considered a brute, in all cases, except where such a consideration might operate to his advantage, care is taken to prevent all such mental illumination as might assist him in recovering any portion of his rights. However much we may pride ourselves, as a nation, on the general diffusion of the blessings of education, it ought to be recollected, that these blessings are forcibly withheld from two millions of our inhabitants; or that one-sixth of of our whole population is doomed by law to the grossest ignorance.

A law of South-Carolina passed in 1800, authorises the infliction of twenty lashes on every slave found in an assembly convened for the purpose of "mental instruction," held in a confined or secret place, although in the presence of a white. Another law imposes a fine of £100 on any person who may teach a slave to write. An act of Virginia, of 1829, declares every meeting of slaves at any school by day or night, for instruction in reading or writing, an unlawful assembly, and any justice may inflict twenty lashes on each slave found in such school.

In North-Carolina, to teach a slave to read or write; or to sell or give him *any* book (Bible not excepted) or pamphlet, is punished with thirty-nine lashes, or imprisonment, if the offender be a free negro, but if a white, then with a fine of $200. The reason for this law, assigned in its preamble is, that "teaching slaves to read and write, tends so excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion."

In Georgia, if a white teach a free negro or slave to read

or write, he is fined $500, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court; if the offender be a colored man, bond or free, he is to be fined or whipped at the discretion of the court. Of course a father may be flogged for teaching his own child. This barbarous law was enacted in 1829.

In Louisiana, the penalty for teaching slaves to read or write, is one year's imprisonment.

These are specimens of the efforts made by slave legislatures, to enslave the *minds* of their victims; and we have surely no reason to hope that their *souls* are regarded with more compassion.

In vain has the Redeemer of the world given the command to preach the gospel to every creature; his professed disciples in the slave States have issued a counter order; and as we have already seen, have by their laws, incapacitated 2,000,000 of their fellow-men from complying with the injunction, "search the Scriptures." Not only are the slaves debarred from reading the wonderful things of God —they are practically prevented with a few exceptions from even *hearing* of them.

In Georgia, any justice of the peace may, at his discretion, break up any religious assembly of slaves, and may order *each slave present* to be "corrected without trial, by receiving on the bare back, twenty-five stripes with a whip, switch or cow-skin."

In South-Carolina, slaves may not meet together for the purpose of "religious worship" before sunrise or after sunset, unless the *majority* of the meeting be composed of white persons, under the penalty of twenty lashes well laid on." As it will be rather difficult for the slave to divine before he goes to the meeting, how many blacks, and how many whites will be present, and of course which color will have the "majority," a due regard for his back, will keep him from the meeting.

In Virginia, all evening meetings of slaves at any meeting-house, are unequivocally forbidden.

In Mississippi, the law *permits* the master to suffer his slave to attend the preaching of a *white* minister.

It is very evident that when public opinion tolerates such laws, it will not tolerate the general religious instruction of the slaves. True it is, a master may carry or send

his slaves to the parish church, and true it is that some do attend, and receive benefit from their attendance.

On this, as well as on every other subject relating to slavery, we would rather fall short of than exceed the truth. We will not assert there are no Christians among the slaves, for we trust there are some. When, however, we recollect, that they are denied the Scriptures, and all the usual advantages of the Sunday School, and are forbidden to unite among themselves in acts of social worship and instruction, and that almost all the sermons they hear, are such as are addressed to educated whites, and of course above their own comprehension, we may form some idea of the obstacles opposed to their spiritual improvement. Let it be also recollected, that every master possesses the *tremendous* power of keeping his slaves in utter ignorance of their Maker's will, and of their own immortal destinies. And now with all these facts, and their consequences and tendencies in remembrance, we ask, if we do not make a most abundant and charitable allowance when we suppose that 245,000 slaves possess a saving knowledge of the religion of Christ? And yet after this admission, one which probably no candid person will think too limited, there will remain in the bosom of our country TWO MILLIONS of human beings, who, in consequence of our laws, are in a state of heathenism! But probably many will refuse their assent to this conclusion, without further and more satisfactory evidence of its correctness. To such persons we submit the following testimony, furnished by slave holders themselves. In 1831, the Rev. Charles C. Jones preached a sermon before two associations of planters in Georgia, one of Liberty County, and the other of McIntosh County. This sermon is before us, and we quote from it.

"Generally speaking they (the slaves) appear to us to be without God and without hope in the world, a NATION OF HEATHEN in our very midst.—We cannot cry out against the Papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and keeping them in ignorance of the way of life; for we *withhold* the Bible from our servants, and *keep* them in ignorance of it, while we *will* not use the means to have it read and explained to them. The cry of our perishing servants comes up to us from the sultry plains as they

bend at their toil—it comes up to us from their humble cottages when they return at evening to rest their weary limbs —it comes up to us from the midst of their ignorance and superstition, and adultery and lewdness. We have manifested no emotions of horror at abandoning the souls of our servants to the adversary, the roaring lion that walketh about seeking whom he may devour."

On the 5th December, 1833, a committee of the Synod of South-Carolina and Georgia, to whom was referred the subject of the religious instruction of the colored population, made a report which has been published, and in which this language is used.

"Who would credit it, that in these years of revival and benevolent effort, in this Christian republic, there are over TWO MILLIONS of human beings in the condition of HEATHEN, and in some respects in a worse condition. From long continued and close observation, we believe that their moral and religious condition is such that they may justly be considered the HEATHEN of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The negroes are destitute of the Gospel, and *ever will be under the present state of things.* In the vast field extending from an entire State beyond the Potomac, to the Sabine river, and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are to the best of our knowledge not *twelve* men exclusvely devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes. In the present state of feeling in the South, a ministry of their own color could neither be obtained NOR TOLERATED.

"But do not the negroes have access to the Gospel through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer NO; the negroes have no regular and efficient ministry; as a mattter of course, no churches; neither is there sufficient room in white churches for their accommodation. We know of but *five* churches in the slave holding States built expressly for their use; these are all in the State of Georgia. We may now inquire if they enjoy the privileges of the Gospel in their own houses, and on our plantations? Again we return a negative answer. They have no Bibles to read by their own firesides—they have no family altars; and when in affliction, sickness, or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolations of the Gos-

pel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services."

In a late number of the Charleston (S. C.) Observer, a correspondent remarked: "Let us establish missionaries among our own negroes, who, in view of religious knowledge, are as debasingly ignorant as any one on the coast of Africa; for I hazard the assertion, that throughout the bounds of our synod, there are at least one hundred thousand slaves, speaking the same language as ourselves, who never *heard* of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer."

The editor, instead of contradicting this broad assertion, adds: "We fully concur with what our correspondent has said respecting the benighted heathen among ourselves."

Such is American slavery—a system which classes with the beasts of the field, over whom dominion has been given to man, an intelligent and accountable being, the instant his Creator has breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Over this infant heir of immortality, no mother has a right to watch—no father may guide his feeble steps, check his wayward appetites, and train him for future usefulness, happiness and glory. Torn from his parents, and sold in the market, he soon finds himself laboring among strangers under the whip of a driver, and his task augmenting with his ripening strength. Day after day, and year after year, is he driven to the cotton or sugar-field, as the ox to the furrow. No hope of reward lightens his toil—the subject of insult, the victim of brutality, the laws of his country afford him no redress—his wife, such only in name, may at any moment be dragged from his side—his children, heirs only of his misery and degradation, are but articles of merchandize—his mind, stupified by his oppressors, is wrapped in darkness—his soul, no man careth for it—his body, worn with stripes and toil, is at length committed to the earth, like the brute that perisheth.

This is the system which the American Anti-slavery Society declares to be sinful, and ought therefore to be immediately abolished; and this is the system which the American Colonization Society excuses, and which, it contends, ought to be perpetual, rather than its victims should enjoy their rights in "the white man's land."

To one whose moral sense has not been perverted, it

would seem a temerity bordering on blasphemy, to contend that *such a system* can be approved by a just and holy God, or sanctioned by the precepts of his blessed Gospel. Slavery, we are told, is not forbidden in the Bible; but who will dare to say, that cruelty and injustice, and compulsory heathenism are not?

We are often reminded, that St. Paul exhorts slaves to be obedient to their masters; but so he does subjects to their rulers. If, in the one instance, he justified slavery, so did he despotism in the other. The founder of Christianity and his apostles, interfered not with political institutions, but laid down rules for the conduct of individuals; and St. Paul, in requiring masters to give their servants that which is *just and equal*, virtually condemned the whole system of slavery, since he who receives what is just and equal cannot be a slave. If it was right in the time of St. Paul to hold *white* men as slaves, would it be wrong to do so now? If slavery is lawful *now*, it must have been lawful in its commencement, since perseverance in wrong, can never constitute right. Let it be explained how free men with their posterity, to the latest generation, can now be lawfully reduced to slavery, and forever kept in ignorance of the duties and consolations of Christianity, and we will unite with those who justify American slavery.

CHAPTER II.

Proposed objects and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society—Censure of Abolitionists.

The next great principle maintained by the Society is, that slavery being sinful, it ought immediately to cease. Admitting the premises, the conclusion seems irresistible. Sin is opposition to the will of our Creator and Supreme Lawgiver. His wisdom and goodness are alike infinite, and if slavery be inconsistent with his will, it must necessarily be inconsistent with the welfare of his creatures. Reason and revelation, moreover, assure us that God will punish sin; and therefore to contend that it is necessary

or expedient to continue in sin, is to impeach every attribute of the Deity, and to brave the vengeance of omnipotence.

These principles lead the Society to aim at effecting the following objects, viz :

1st. The immediate abolition of slavery throughout the United States.

2d. As a necessary consequence, the suppression of the American slave trade.

3d. The ultimate elevation of the black population to an equality with the white, in civil and religious privileges.

But principles may be sound, and objects may be good, and yet the measures adopted to enforce those principles, and to attain those objects, may be unlawful. Let us then inquire, what are the measures contemplated by the Society.

Slavery exists under the authority of the State Legislatures, in the several States ; and under the authority of Congress in the District of Columbia, and in the United States' territories.

The members of the Society are all represented in Congress, and the Constitution guarantees to them the right of petition. They will therefore petition Congress to exercise the power it possesses, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories. But the Society is not represented in the State Legislatures, and therefore petitions to them might be deemed officious, and would not probably lead to any advantageous result. The Society will therefore use the right possessed by every member of the community, the right of speech and of the press. They will address arguments to the understandings and the consciences of their fellow citizens, and endeavor to convince them of the duty and policy of immediate emancipation. Legislatures are with us, but the mere creatures of the people, and when the people of the slave States demand the abolition of slavery, their Legislatures will give effect to their will, by passing the necessary laws.

The means by which the Society will endeavor to secure to the blacks an equality of civil and religious privileges, are frankly avowed to be, the encouragement of their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and the removal

of existing prejudices against them. To prevent any misapprehensions of the real design of the Society, the Constitution expressly declares that the Society will never "*in any way countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights, by resorting to physical force.*"

Such are the principles and designs of those who are now designated as Abolitionists, and never since the settlement of the country, has any body of citizens been subjected in an equal degree, to unmerited, and unmeasured reproach.

We have seen with what kind of temper Colonizationists speak of free negroes, and we may well question, when we call to mind the obloquy they have heaped upon Abolitionists, whether the latter are not in their opinion the greater *nuisances*. Much as the free negroes have suffered from the charges of the Society, still there have been limits to the invectives hurled against them. No chancellor has adjudged *them* to be "reckless incendiaries.* No counsellor, learned in the law, has charged *them* with being guilty of "a palpable nullification of that Constitution which they had *sworn* to support."† No honorable Senator has denounced *them* as "fanatics, increasing injury and sealing oppression."‡ The chairman of the Executive Committee of the New-York Colonization Society, never asserted that *they* sought to use the pulpits "for the base *purpose* of encouraging scenes of bloodshed."‖ Nor did even the New-York Courier and Enquirer ever propose, that the city authorities should inform *them*, that they must prosecute "their treasonable and BEASTLY plans at their own peril;" in other words, that they should not be protected from mobs.§ Nor, finally, has any city corporation accused *them* of holding sentiments, "demoralizing in

* Speech of Chancellor Walworth of New-York.

† Speech of D. B. Ogden, Esq. of New-York.

‡ Hon. Mr. Frelinghuysen, of the Senate of the United States.

‖ Commercial Advertiser, 2d Oct. 1833.

§ Courier and Enquirer, 11th July, 1834. The same paper of 27th Dec. 1834, contains the following.—"We do say, and say in all *the earnestness of conviction, that no meeting of Abolitionists should ever be suffered to go on with its proceedings in the United States.* Whenever these wretched disturbers of the public peace, and plotters of MURDER, RAPINE, AND A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, have the impudence to hold a meeting, it is the duty of the rational citizens—always a vast majority in every place—to go to that meeting, and there, by exercising the right of every American citizen, make the expression of their dis-

themselves, and little short of *treason* towards the government of our country."*

But Abolitionists are neither astonished nor dismayed at the torrent of insult and calumny that has been poured upon them, as though some strange thing had happened unto them. They remember that Wilberforce and his companions experienced similar treatment, while laboring for the abolition of the slave trade; and they remember also the glorious triumphs they achieved, and the full though tardy justice that has been done to their motives. A few brief reminiscences may be both useful and interesting.

In 1776, the British House of Commons rejected a resolution, that the slave trade "was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." Yet that trade is now piracy by act of Parliament.

In 1788, on a bill being introduced into the House of Lords, to mitigate the horrors of the trade, Lord Chancellor Thurlow ridiculed "the sudden fit of philanthropy that had given it birth," and Lord Chandos predicted "the insurrection of the slaves, and the massacre of their masters, from the *agitation* of the subject."

In 1789, on a motion by Mr. Wilberforce, that the house would take the trade into consideration, a member pronounced the attempt to abolish it, "hypocritical, *fanatic*, and methodistical," and contended that Abolition must lead to "insurrections, massacre, and ruin."

In 1791, Col. Tarleton, in the House of Commons, speaking of the proposed abolition of the slave trade, declared that "the measure was fit only for the bigotry and superstition of the twelfth century." Lord John Russel asserted that Abolition was "visionary and delusive, a feeble attempt without the power to serve the cause of humanity."

Lord Sheffield could "trace in the arguments for Abolition nothing like reason, but on the contrary, downright phrensy."

approbation and disgust, loud enough, and emphatic enough, to render it impossible for treason to go on with its machinations. Let sedition be driven from its den, as often as its minions congregate."

*Resolutions of the Corporation of the city of Utica.

In 1792, the Abolitionists were denounced in Parliament, as "a junto of sectaries, sophists, enthusiasts, and fanatics."

In 1793, the Duke of Clarence, now William the IV., in his place in the House of Lords, declared the Abolitionists to be "fanatics, and hypocrites," and so far violated parliamentary decorum, as to apply these epithets to Mr. Wilberforce by name. Yet has he lived to crown the labors and fulfil the hopes of Wilberforce, by giving his assent to the bill abolishing slavery in the British dominions.

In 1804, Lord Temple declared in Parliament, that to abolish the slave trade, would be "*the death warrant of every white inhabitant in the islands.*"

Ten times did Mr. Wilberforce bring the subject of the abolition of the traffick before Parliament, and ten times was he doomed to witness the failure of his efforts; nor was this detestable commerce suppressed, till *thirty* years after the first motion against it had been made in the House of Commons. Now, it is prohibited by the whole Christian world.

When the Abolitionists of the present day, think of these facts, and recollect the reproaches heaped on Wilberforce and his colleagues, by a Chancellor and dignified Senators, well may they thank God and take courage. And who are these men, we would ask, whom Colonizationists are honoring with epithets similar to those which the advocates of the slave trade so liberally applied to the philanthropists who opposed it? We will suffer an authority justly respected by the religious community to answer the question.

Abbott's Religious Magazine, in an article on the mobs against the *New-York* Abolitionists, says,

"The men against whom their fury was directed, were in general ministers of the Gospel, and other distinguished members of Christian churches. The *more prominent* ones, were the very persons who have been most honored in times past, on account of their personal exertions and pecuniary contributions for every benevolent purpose. Let the whole land be searched, and we believe that no men will be found to have done so much for the promotion of temperance, purity, and every benevolent and religious object."

CHAPTER III.

Fanaticism of Abolitionists.

One of the most usual terms by which Abolitionists are designated by their opponents is, "the fanatics." It seems they are fanatics, because they believe slavery to be sinful. The grounds for this belief, have been already stated. But is the sinfulness of slavery a *new* doctrine; or has it been held only by weak and misguided men? Is Wilberforce to be denounced as a "wretched fanatic," because he declared, "slavery is the full measure of pure unsophisticated wickedness, and scorning all competition or comparison, it stands alone without a rival, in the secure, undisputed possession of its detestable pre-eminence."

Was Jonathan Edwards a poor "misguided" man, for thus addressing slave holders. "While you hold your negroes in slavery, you do wrong, exceedingly wrong—you do not, as you would men should do to you; you commit sin in the sight of God: you daily violate the plain rights of mankind, and that in a higher degree than if you committed theft or robbery." Were Porteus, Horseley, Fox, Johnson, Burke, Jefferson, and Bolivar, "miserable enthusiasts?" Yet hear their testimonies.

"The Christian religion is opposed to slavery, in its spirit and in its principles; it classes men stealers among murderers of fathers and of mothers, and the most profane criminals upon earth."—*Porteus.*

"Slavery is injustice, which no consideration of policy can extenuate."—*Horseley.*

"Personal freedom is the right of every human being. It is a right of which he who deprives a fellow creature, was absolutely criminal in so depriving him; and which he who withheld, was no less criminal in withholding."—*Fox.*

"No man is by nature the property of another. The rights of nature must be some way forfeited, before they can be justly taken away."—*Johnson.*

"Slavery is a state so improper, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist."—*Burke.*

"The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with *us*, in such a contest." (A contest with insurgent slaves.)—*Jefferson.*

"Slavery is the infringement of all laws—a law having a tendency to preserve slavery, would be the grossest sacrilege."—*Bolivar.*

We would take the liberty of recommending to the consideration of certain Methodist Colonizationists, the following language of John Wesley.

"Men-buyers, are exactly on a level with men-stealers. Indeed, you say, I pay honestly for my goods, and am not concerned to know how they are come by. Nay, but you are—you are deeply concerned to know that they are honestly come by. Otherwise you are a partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honester than him. But you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means nothing so innocent as picking of pockets, or robbery on the highway. Perhaps you will say, I do not buy my negroes, I only use those left me by my father. So far is well, but is it enough to satisfy your conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside."

But Abolitionists are fanatics, not merely because they believe slavery sinful, but also because they contend it ought *immediately* to be abolished. In their fanaticism on this point, as well as on the other, they are kept in countenance by a host of divines and statesmen, and by the unanimous opinion of thousands, and tens of thousands of Christians. Men of all ranks and characters, from John Wesley to Daniel O'Connel, have exhibited this fanaticism —it has been borne by the republicans of France, the Catholics of South America, the people of England, Scotland and Ireland.

So long ago as 1774, John Wesley declared: "It cannot be that either war or contract can give any man such a property in another, as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be *born a slave.* If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy, nor the revealed will of God) render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom

liberty is due, that is, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature."

Jonathan Edwards was fanatic enough to assert:—"Every man, who cannot show that his negro hath, by his voluntary conduct, forfeited his liberty, is obligated *immediately* to manumit him."

One million five hundred thousand persons petitioned the British Parliament for the total and immediate abolition of slavery. Indeed, Mr. O'Connel expressed the nearly unanimous sentiment of the whole nation, when he exclaimed:

"I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what creed or color slavery may assume, I am for its total, its *instant* abolition."

We have not yet exhausted the proofs of the alleged fanaticism of Abolitionists. It seems they are fanatics, for wishing to elevate the blacks to a civil and religious equality with the whites. Certain Colonization editors deny to Abolitionists, as we have seen, the constitutional right of freedom of speech, the press, and the pulpit, and even of peaceably assembling together; and multitudes seem to think, that they have forfeited the protection of the ninth commandment. Men of all ranks have united in charging upon them designs which they indignantly disclaim, and in support of which, not a particle of evidence has been, or can be admitted. One of the designs falsely imputed to them, is that of bringing about an amalgamation of colors by intermarriages. In vain have they again and again denied any such design; in vain have their writings been searched for any recommendation of such amalgamation. No Abolitionist is known to have married a negro, or to have given his child to a negro; yet has the charge of amalgamation been repeated, and repeated, till many have, no doubt, honestly believed it.

During the very height of the New-York riots, and as if to excite the mob to still greater atrocities, the editor of the Commercial Advertiser asserted, that the Abolitionists had "*sought* to degrade" the identity of their fellow citizens, as a "a nation of white men, by reducing it to the condition of MONGRELS." *Com. Adv.* 11th *July*, 1834.

No one, in the possession of his reasoning faculties, can

believe it to be the duty of white men to select black wives; and Abolitionists have given every proof the nature of the case will admit, that they countenance no such absurdity.

But most true it is, that the Anti-Slavery Society avows its intention to labor for the civil and religious equality of the blacks. It has been found *expedient* to accuse it of aiming also at their *social* equality. He must be deeply embued with fanaticism, or rather with insanity, who contends, that *because* a man has a dark skin, he is, *therefore*, entitled to a reception in our families, and a place at our tables.

We all know white men whose characters and habits render them repulsive to us, and whom no consideration would induce us to admit into our social circles; and can it be believed, that Abolitionists are willing to extend to negroes, merely on account of their color, courtesies and indulgences, which, in innumerable instances, they withhold, and properly withhold, from their white fellow citizens. But who pretends that, because a man is so disagreeable in his manners and person that we refuse to associate with him, that *therefore* he ought to be denied the right of suffrage, the privilege of choosing his trade and profession, the opportunities of acquiring knowledge, and the liberty of pursuing his own happiness? Yet such is our conduct towards the free blacks, and it is this conduct which the Society aims at reforming. The Society does contend, that no man ought to be punished for the complexion God has given him. And are not black men *punished* for the color of their skin? Read the laws of the slave States relative to free negroes; alas! read the laws of Ohio, and Connecticut; read the decision of Judge Dagget; behold them excluded from our institutions of learning, from our various trades and professions; see them *compelled* to wander in poverty and in ignorance. Now, all this, Abolitionists contend is *wrong*, and their opposition to this system of persecution and oppression is fanaticism! Be it so, but it is only *modern* fanaticism, and was not so regarded when in 1785, JOHN JAY declared: "I wish to see all unjust and unnecessary discriminations every where abolished, and that the time may soon come, when all our inhabitants, of every

COLOR and denomination, shall be free and EQUAL PARTAKERS OF OUR POLITICAL LIBERTY."

It requires no great exercise of candor, to admit, that the prejudices existing against the blacks are sinful, whenever they lead us to treat those unhappy people with injustice and inhumanity. They have their rights as well as ourselves. They have no right to associate with us against our will, but they have a right to acquire property by lawful industry; they have a right to participate in the blessings of education and political liberty. When, therefore, our prejudices lead us to *keep* the blacks in poverty, by restricting their industry,* to *keep* them in ignorance, by excluding them from our seminaries, and preventing them from having seminaries of their own; to *keep* them in a state of vassalage, by denying them any choice in their rulers; our prejudices are so far sinful, and so far only does the Anti-Slavery Society aim at removing them.

CHAPTER IV.

Incendiarism and treason of Abolitionists.

IT is not enough that Abolitionists should be represented as fanatics; it has been deemed expedient, to hold them up to the community as incendiaries and traitors. The chairman of the Executive Committee of the New-York Colonization Society, thus speaks of the Anti-slavery Society, in his paper of the 9th June, 1834. "The *design* of this Society is, beyond a doubt, to forment a servile war in the South—they have been heard to say, blood must be shed, and the sooner the better—this Society owes its existence not to the love of liberty, or any particular affection for the slaves, but to cruel, and bitter hatred, and malignity." In an earlier paper, he accused Abolitionists of seeking to use

* As one instance among the innumerable restrictions on the industry of these people, we may mention, that no free black, however moral and intelligent, can obtain a license in the city of New-York to drive a cart!

the pulpits, "for the base *purpose* of encouraging scenes of bloodshed."

Here we find the most atrocious *designs*, imputed to men well known in the community for active benevolence and private worth; and yet not a scintilla of evidence is offered in support of the extraordinary fact, that such men should harbor such designs. In this case the accused can of course offer only negative proof of their innocence. That proof is to be found first in their individual characters. Secondly, in the fact that many of the Abolitionists are emphatically *peace men*, that is, they hold the quaker doctrine of the unlawfulness of war, and maintain that it would be sinful in the slaves to attempt effecting their freedom by force of arms,* and, thirdly, in the fundamental principle of the Society, that they will "never in any way countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights, by resorting to physical force," and, fourthly, in the fact that Abolitionists as such, have in no instance recommended, or committed an act of unlawful violence.

But by declaiming against slavery, Abolitionists are exciting odium against slave holders. If he who labors to render any particular sin, and those who are guilty of it odious, is of course a "reckless incendiary," few are more justly and honorably entitled to this epithet, than the excellent Chancellor of New-York. Few have shown more intrepidity in denouncing the venders of ardent spirits than this gentleman; and Abolitionists, in their warfare against slavery, may well take a lesson from the example he has set them of an honest and fearless discharge of duty. Had the President of the New-York Temperance Society, and his associates exercised the same tenderness, and gentleness towards drunkards and venders, that he now shows towards slave holders, Temperance Societies would have checked the progress of drunkenness, as little as Colonization promises to do that of slavery.

Thomas Jefferson was not denounced as a reckless incendiary, when in the midst of a slave population, he declared, that the Almighty had no attribute that could take side with the masters, in a contest with their slaves;

* This sentiment is held and avowed by the much calumniated Mr. Garrison.

nor did JOHN JAY forfeit the confidence of his countrymen, when during the revolutionary war, he asserted "till America comes into this measure, (abolition of slavery) her prayers to heaven for liberty will be IMPIOUS;" nor when addressing the Legislature of New-York, then a slave State, he told them that persons "free by the laws of God, are held in slavery by the laws of man."

Nor were FRANKLIN and his associates regarded as incendiaries for uniting in 1787, "to extend the blessings of freedom to every part of our race;" or for refusing to permit slave holders to participate with them in this glorious effort.

It was not sufficient to ridicule Abolitionists as fanatics, or to stigmatize them as incendiaries; they must be branded as traitors and nullifiers. On the 9th October, 1833, a few days after a mob had assembled to deprive American citizens of one of their dearest constitutional rights, that of peaceably expressing their opinions, a numerous Colonization meeting, was convened in New-York for the purpose of taking advantage of the recent excitement, to raise the sum of $20,000. Gentlemen of high rank and influence addressed the meeting. Not a word of disapprobation of the late outrage escaped them; on the contrary the violence offered to the Abolitionists, seemed to be extenuated if not justified, by the grievous charges now brought against them.

The Hon. Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New-Jersey, justly distinguished for his piety, his talents, and his station as a Senator of the United States, addressed the meeting. "In the course of his address," (says the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser, 10th October,) "he dwelt with emphasis and just discrimination upon the proceedings of both *cis* and *trans*-Atlantic Abolitionists, who are *seeking to destroy* our happy Union."

Chancellor Walworth, one of the most estimable citizens, and the highest judicial officer of the State of New-York, alluding to the emancipation to be effected by Colonization, remarked, "the emancipation, however, to which this resolution directs your attention, is not that *unconstitutional* and dangerous emancipation contemplated by a few visionary enthusiasts, and a still fewer reckless incendiaries among us, which cannot be effected without violating the

rights of property secured by that constitution, which we have *sworn* to support—that emancipation which *would arm one part of the Union against another*, and light up the flame of civil war in this now happy land." *N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

David B. Ogden, Esq., a gentleman whose legal eminence, and whose purity of character justly give to his opinions peculiar weight, used the following language: "I avail myself of this opportunity, to enter my solemn protest against the attempts which are making by a few FANATICS, who, without looking to the fearful consequences involved in such an issue, are advocating the immediate emancipation of slaves in the Southern district. As citizens of the United States, we have no right to interfere with the claims of our Southern brethren to the property of their slaves. The Constitution of the United States recognises their right to it, and they have not only a sure and undeniable right to that property, but they are entitled to the full protection of the constituted authorities, in enforcing the enjoyment of it. Let us not talk any more of nullification; *the doctrine of immediate emancipation is a direct and palpable nullification of that constitution we have sworn to support.*" *New-York Journal of Commerce.*

We might have selected many similar charges from other sources, but we have taken *these* on account of the high character of the accusers, and because the authors are all of the legal profession, and of course, aware of the importance of precision in all charges of a criminal nature. Not one of these gentlemen sitting as a criminal judge, would permit the merest vagabond to be put on his defence on a vague charge of stealing; but would quash any indictment, that did not specify the time and place of the offence, and the property alleged to be stolen; yet they did not scruple to hold up their fellow citizens and fellow Christians to the indignation of the public, on charges destitute of all specification, and unsupported by a particle of testimony.

Abolitionists are here accused of seeking to destroy our happy Union; of contemplating a violation of property, secured by the Constitution they had sworn to support; of pursuing measures which would lead to a civil war; and

of being guilty of direct and palpable nullification. When, where, how, were these crimes attempted? What proof is offered? Nothing, absolutely nothing, is offered but naked assertion. Is this equitable? Is it doing to others as these gentlemen would wish others to do to them?

But it is not enough that Abolitionists should be denounced at home; they must also be defamed abroad. Mr. Gurley, secretary of the American Colonization Society, writes a letter (1833) to Henry Ibbotson, Esq., England; and, to give it greater weight, dates it, "Office of the Colonization Society, Washington." In this letter, he undertakes to enlighten his foreign correspondent on some of the "*fundamental* errors" of the Abolitionists, and ranks among them the opinion, "that, in present circumstances, slavery ought to be abolished, by means not acting solely through, but, *in a great degree against, and in defiance of the will of the South.*" Not a tittle of evidence is given, that such an opinion is held by a single individual in the United States.

Mr. Jeremiah Hubbard, clerk of the Yearly Meeting of *Friends!* in North-Carolina, in a letter to a friend in England, (Af. Rep. X. p. 37) declares that "the primary object" of the Abolitionists "appears to be that of producing such a revolution in public sentiment as to cause the *national legislation* to bear *directly* upon the slave holders, and to *compel* them to emancipate their slaves."

Now, to all these charges, and to each and every of them, the members of the Anti-Slavery Society plead NOT GUILTY, and desire to be tried by God and their country. But, alas, no trial is vouchsafed to them: judgment has already been given, and execution awarded against them, without trial, and without evidence, solely on the finding of a voluntary and irresponsible inquest. All they can now do, is to ask for a reversal of the judgment as false and illegal, cruel and oppressive.

It is, of course, difficult to disprove charges, where the counts of the indictment are utterly void of certainty, and where, from the nature of the case, none but negative testimony can be offered by the accused. We have a right to presume, that the treason and nullification charged on Abolitionists, have reference to their efforts to procure the

abolition of slavery in the United States. Now slavery exists under the authority of Congress, and also under the authority of State Legislatures. We will proceed in the first place to exhibit some facts relative to slavery in the former instance, and inquire how far the conduct of Abolitionists in respect to it, is treasonable and unconstitutional; and we will then make the same inquiry as to their conduct in regard to slavery in the several States.

CHAPTER V.

Slavery under the authority of Congress.

At the last census, there were in the territories of Arkansas, Florida, and the District of Columbia, twenty-six thousand one hundred and thirty-eight slaves. We will confine our remarks at present to slavery as it is exhibited at the seat of the federal government, and in a portion of territory, over which the Constitution of the United States has given to Congress "exclusive jurisdiction." In this District of ten miles square, there are six thousand slaves; and the laws under which they are held in bondage, are among the most cruel and wicked of all the slave laws in the United States. This District, moreover, placed as it is under the immediate and absolute control of the national governmeut, is the great slave mart of the North American continent.

In 1829, Mr. Miner, a member of the House of Representatives, from Pennsylvania, introduced a resolution for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District. In his speech in support of this resolution, many appalling facts were disclosed. It appeared, that in the last five years, seven hundred and forty-two colored persons had been committed to the public prison of the city of Washington. And were these persons accused or convicted of crime? Not one. Four hundred and fifty-two were lodged in the United States prison by slave traders, for safe keeping prior to exportation. The residue were imprisoned on

suspicion, real or affected, of being fugitive slaves; and if not claimed as such, were by *authority of Congress*, to be SOLD AS SLAVES FOR LIFE, to raise money to pay their JAIL FEES!!!

Such are the facts in regard to the prison in the Capital of our confederate Republic; and let it be recollected, that there are other prisons besides this in the District of Columbia.

Of the practical operation of a system sanctioned by the laws of Congress, take the following sample:

"Visiting the prison," says Mr. Miner, "and passing through the avenues that lead to the cells, I was struck with the appearance of a woman, having three or four children with her—one at the breast. She presented such an aspect of woe, that I could not help inquiring her story. It was simply this: she was a slave, but had married a man who was free. By him she had eight or nine children. Moved by natural affection, the father labored to support the children; but as they attained an age to be valuable in the MARKET, perhaps ten or twelve, the master sold them. One after another was taken away and sold to the slave dealers. She had now come to an age to be no longer profitable as a breeder, and her master had separated her from her husband, and all the associations of life, and sent her and her children to YOUR prison for sale."

The law of the District, virtually the law of Congress, by which any colored person, without the allegation of a crime, may be seized and thrown into a cell; and unless he can *there* prove his freedom, or is claimed by another, is sold for life as a slave to pay his jail fees, is for unblushing injustice and atrocity utterly unrivalled by any enactment of the despots of the old world. Mr. Miner states, that in 1826–7 no less than FIVE persons were thus sold into perpetual bondage, for jail fees. In one case, the UNITED STATES MARSHAL lost his fees. Hear Mr. Miner. "In August, 1821, a black man was taken up and imprisoned as a runaway. He was kept confined until October, 1822—four hundred and five days. In this time, vermin, disease, and misery had deprived him of the use of his limbs. He was rendered a cripple for life, and finally discharged *as no one would buy him.* Turned out upon the world a

miserable pauper, disabled by OUR means from gaining subsistence, he is sometimes supported from the poor house, sometimes receives alms in your streets."

Mr. Miner thus speaks of the AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE, as carried on in the District.

"The slave trade, as it exists and is carried on here, is marked by instances of injustice and cruelty scarcely exceeded on the coast of Africa. It is a mistake to suppose it is a mere purchase and sale of *acknowledged* slaves. The District is full of complaints on the subject, and the evil is increasing. So long ago as 1802, the extent and cruelty of the traffick, produced from a grand jury, at Alexandria, a presentment so clear, so strong, and so feelingly drawn, that I shall make no apology for reading it to the House."

Mr. Miner then read the following:

"*January Term*, 1802.

"We the grand jury, for the body of the county of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, present as a grievance the practice of persons coming from distant parts of the United States into this District, for the purpose of purchasing slaves, where they exhibit, to our view, a scene of wretchedness and human degradation, disgraceful to our characters as citizens of a free government. True it is that these dealers, in the persons of our fellow men, collect within this District from various parts, numbers of those victims of slavery, and lodge them in some place of confinement until they have completed their numbers. They are then turned out in our streets and exposed to view, loaded with chains as though they had committed some heinous offence against our laws. We consider it a grievance that citizens from distant parts of the United States should be permitted to come within this District, and pursue a traffick fraught with so much misery, to a class of beings entitled to our protection by the laws of justice and humanity; and that the interposition of civil authority cannot be had to prevent parents being wrested from their offspring, and children from their parents, without respect to the ties of nature. We consider these grievances demanding *legislative* redress"—that is, redress by Congress.

As illustrative of the horrors and iniquities of the traffick, Mr. Miner informed the House of an incident that had occurred during the previous Session of Congress. A free

colored man had married a slave—with the avails of his industry, he had, in the course of some years, purchased the freedom of his wife and children. He left home on business, and on his return found his house tenantless. His wife and children were missing. It was soon ascertained that they had been kidnapped by slave dealers, and confined in a private slave prison, in Alexandria; from whence they had afterwards been sent to a distant market and were for ever lost to the husband and the father.

"There is a man now in this District," continued Mr. Miner, "who was in the hands of the slave dealers, about to be sent off to the South, when he laid his hand on a block, and with an axe severed it from his arm. Can the slave trade, on the coast of Africa, be more horrible, more dreaded, or more prolific of scenes of misery? To me all this is dreadful, and I think it should not be tolerated here."

These statements were made in 1829. We will now exhibit the flourishing condition of the slave trade under the PROTECTION OF CONGRESS in 1834. The following advertisements are all taken from the same sheet, printed a few months since at the capital of the American Republic:

"CASH FOR TWO HUNDRED NEGROES.

We will give cash for two hundred likely young negroes of both sexes, families included. Persons wishing to dispose of their slaves, will do well to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash, than any other purchasers who are now, or may hereafter come into this MARKET. All communications will meet attention. We can at all times be found at our residence on Seventh-street, immediately South of the Centre Market-house, Washington, D. C. Joseph W. Neal & Co.

September 13, 1834.

"CASH FOR FOUR HUNDRED NEGROES,

Including both sexes, from twelve to twenty-five years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchaser, who is now, or may hereafter come into this MARKET.

Franklin, Armfield & Co.

Alexandria, September 1st, 1834."

"CASH FOR ONE HUNDRED NEGROES,

Including both sexes, from twelve to twenty-five years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchaser who is now in this city.

We can at all times be found at Isaac Beer's tavern, a few doors below Lloyd's tavern, opposite Centre Market, Washington city. All communications promptly attended to.—*September* 1st, 1834. Birch & Jones."

Thus we find cash offered for seven hundred slaves at one time, in the District of Columbia. Does any one inquire how these slaves are to be disposed of? We call his attention to the following advertisement in the same paper.

ALEXANDRIA AND NEW-ORLEANS PACKETS.

Brig TRIBUNE, Captain Smith, and Brig UNCAS, Captain Boush, will resume their regular trips on the 20th of October: one of which will leave this port every thirty days throughout the shipping season. They are vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced officers, and will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion used to promote the interests of shippers and comfort of passengers. Apply to the Captains on board, or to

Franklin & Armfield.

Alexandria, September 1st.

Most grievously disappointed and astonished would any northern gentleman be, who had taken passage in one of these Alexandria and New-Orleans packets, on finding himself on board a SLAVER.

From a letter of the 23d of January, 1834, by the Rev. Mr. Leavitt, and published in New-York, it appears, that Mr. Leavitt visited the Slave-Factory of Franklin & Armfield at Alexandria, and was "informed by one of the Principals, that the number of slaves carried from the District last year, was about one thousand, but it would be much greater this year. He expected *their house* alone, would ship at least eleven or twelve hundred. They have *two* vessels of their own, constantly employed in carrying slaves to New-Orleans." One of the vessels being in port, Mr. Leavitt went on board of her. "Her name is the TRIBUNE.

The Captain very obligingly took us to all parts of the vessel. The hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments. The after hold will carry about eighty women, and the other about one hundred men. On either side were *two platforms* running the whole length; one raised a few inches, and the other half way up to the deck. They were about five or six feet deep. On these the slaves lie, as close as they can stow away."

In 1831, the Brig Comet, a slaver, belonging to this very house, and which had sailed from Alexandria with a cargo of one hundred and sixty slaves, was wrecked on Abaco, one of the Bahamas.

But this vile commerce is carried on by land, as well as by water. Slave-coffles are formed at the prisons in the District, and thence set off on their dreary journey into the interior, literally in chains. A gentleman thus describes a coffle he met on the road in Kentucky. "I discovered about forty black men all chained together in the following manner:—each of them was hand-cuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file. A chain, perhaps forty feet long, was stretched between the two ranks, to which short chains were joined, which connected with the hand-cuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, *thirty women* in double rank; *the couples tied hand to hand.*"

These coffles pass the very capitol in which are assembled the Legislators by whom they are authorised, and over whose heads is floating the broad banner of the Republic, too justly, alas! in such instances, described by an English satirist as

> "The fustian flag that proudly waves,
> In splendid mockery o'er a land of slaves."

But the tale of iniquity and infamy is not yet ended. In the capitol of our confederated Republic, and with the sanction of the Congress of the United States of America, MEN ARE LICENSED FOR FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS TO DEAL IN HUMAN FLESH!!

And now we ask, ought these things so to be? If not, who can remedy them? There is no power on earth but Congress. No State Legislature can interfere with the District of Columbia, or suppress the accursed traffick of which it is the seat. But who shall rouse Congress to action?

Do we wait for the interposition of slave holders? It is they who foster and encourage the slave trade. Do we appeal to the benevolence of the Colonization Society? Alas, all their sympathy is expended on the victims of the *African* slave trade; their *Constitution* authorises no interference with the *American* traffick. We have seen how far their first President himself, embarked in this traffick. No less than four Vice Presidents of the Society are at this moment members of Congress, and three of them Senators; but not a word has fallen from their lips, relative to slavery, or the slave trade in the District of Columbia. We are wrong—one of them has spoken.

Mr. CHARLES FENTON MERCER, one of the most devoted officers of the Society, during the present session of Congress, voted to lay on the table, a petition presented to the House of Representatives for the abolition of slavery in the District, thus endeavoring to stifle all inquiry into those outrages upon human rights, and human happiness, which are perpetrated under the authority of the national Legislature. Yet this very gentleman has distinguished himself, by his zeal against the *African* slave trade.

The American Anti-Slavery Society avows its intention to endeavor to influence Congress to refuse any longer to authorise these abominations. And is it for this avowal, that its members are branded as traitors and nullifiers? If so, then they appeal for their justification, to the Constitution of the United States.

By the 8th Section of the 1st Article of that instrument, Congress is authorised to "*exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever*," over the District of Columbia; and by the first article of the amendments, Congress is restrained from making any law "abridging the freedom of speech or the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." Hence Abolitionists have believed, that Congress possess the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and that they themselves are authorised to petition that it may be abolished. Such a belief may, perhaps, indicate a "wild fanaticism;" it seems, however, to be a fanaticism shared by the Legislatures of Pennsyl-

vania and New-York, and even by the House of Representatives.

In 1828, the Pennsylvanian Legislature, by an almost unanimous vote, "RESOLVED, that the Senators of this State, in the Senate of the United States, are hereby requested to procure, if practicable, the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in such a manner as they may consider consistent with the rights of individuals, and the Constitution of the United States."

On the 9th January, 1829, the House of Representatives "RESOLVED, that the Committee of the District of Columbia be instructed to inquire into the *expediency*, (not the *right*) of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District, in such manner that no individual shall be injured thereby."

On the 28th January, 1829, a Committee of the New-York Assembly reported to the House:

"Your Committee cannot but view with astonishment, that in the Capital of this free and enlightened country, laws should exist, by which the free CITIZENS of a State are liable, without trial, and even without the imputation of a crime, to be seized while prosecuting their lawful business, immured in prison, and though free, unless claimed as a slave, to be sold as such for the payment of JAIL FEES." The Committee recommended the following resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly:

"RESOLVED, (if the Senate concur herein) that the Senators of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be and are hereby instructed, and the Representatives of this State are requested to *make every possible exertion*, to effect the passage of a law for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

And now again do we ask, are Abolitionists fanatics and incendiaries, and nullifiers, and traitors, and all that is foolish, and all that is wicked, because they wish Congress to suppress slavery, and the slave trade, in the District of Columbia? It cannot be, that Messrs. Frelinghuysen, Walworth, Ogden, and other upright and intelligent Colonizationists have founded their grievous charges against Abolitionists on *this* ground. Let us then see how far Abolition-

ists have merited these charges, for their endeavors to abolish slavery existing under the authority of the several States.

CHAPTER VI.

Slavery under State Authority.

We have seen, that the charges against the Abolitionists are vague, and without specifications. Friend Hubbard and Mr. Gurley, however, give their accusations something of a tangible shape. The one asserts, that Abolitionists are laboring to abolish slavery, by causing the national legislation to bear directly on the slave holders, and *compel* them to emancipate their slaves: the other insists that it is one of their *fundamental* principles, that slavery is to be abolished in a great degree *against and in defiance of the will of the South.* The obvious and only meaning of these assertions is, that it is the wish and object of the Abolitionists to induce *Congress* to abolish slavery in the *States.* One would think that this charge, if true, might be easily proved: some petition, some recommendation might be quoted; but so far from having ever seen any proof of this charge, we have never seen even an *attempt* to prove it.

Perhaps the testimony on this point of a Vice-President of the American Colonization Society, and one who is equally distinguished by his moral worth, and his zeal in the cause of Colonization, will be listened to with respect by many of his brethren. Gerrit Smith, Esq., of New-York, in a speech at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, 20th January, 1834, speaking of the Anti-Slavery Society, remarked: "I believe that Society to be as honest as our own—as benevolent and *patriotic* as our own. Its members love their fellow men, and love *their country, and love the union of the States*, as sincerely and as strongly as we do; and much as is said to the contrary on this point, I have never seen a *particle of evidence*, that the Anti-Sla-

very Society meditates *any interference* with the provisions of the laws of the slave States on the subject of slavery. It alleges, and I have no doubt sincerely, that it is by moral influence alone, and mainly by the changes wrought by the application of truth to the conscience, that it seeks to compass its object."

It seems Mr. Smith has never seen a particle of evidence in support of the charge, that Abolitionists meditate interference with the laws of the slave States. They who make the charge, offer not a particle of evidence in its behalf. We will now offer a MASS of evidence in proof of its utter falsity.

Our first witness is one whose competency and credibility will not be questioned; and who, like Mr. Smith, is a Vice-President of the Colonization Society. The following is extracted from a letter to John Bolton, Esq. of Savannah, written for publication, by the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, and dated 17th May, 1833:

"In my opinion, the domestic slavery of the Southern States is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves; *and this, I am sure, is the opinion of the whole North.* Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States. This was so resolved in the House of Representatives, in 1790, on the report of a committee consisting almost entirely of Northern members; and I do not know an instance of the expression of a different opinion in either House of Congress since. I cannot say that particular individuals might not possibly be found, who suppose that Congress may possess some power over the subject, *but I do not know any such persons*, and if there be any, I am sure they are very few. The servitude of so great a portion of the population of the South, is undoubtedly regarded at the North as a great evil, moral and political, and the discussions upon it, which have recently taken place in the Legislatures of several of the slave-holding States, have been read with very deep interest. But it is regarded, nevertheless, as an evil, the remedy for which *lies with those Legislatures themselves, to be provided and applied, according to their own sense of policy and duty.* The imputations which you say, and say truly, are constantly made against

the North, are, in my opinion, *entirely destitute of any just foundation.*"

Thus we find that Mr. Webster, living in Boston, the seat of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, a fellow-townsman of Garrison's, and surrounded by Abolitionists, knows nothing of the nullifiers denounced by Mr. Ogden—nothing of the men who Mr. Gurley says are for freeing the slaves in defiance of the will of the South—nothing of those who the North-Carolina *quaker* tells us, are for bringing the "National Legislation" to bear upon emancipation.

And has DANIEL WEBSTER, a sworn sentinel on the ramparts of the Constitution, been sleeping at his post; and is it to more faithful and more intelligent watchmen, that we owe the discovery of the meditated treason?

Mr. Webster's letter contains, as far as it goes, THE POLITICAL CREED OF THE ABOLITIONISTS, and we may challenge the whole Colonization Society to name a single Abolitionist, who does not most heartily assent to its doctrines. The New-York Emancipator transferred the letter to its columns, remarking "Mr. Webster's opinion on the subject of slavery in the States of this Union, so far as expressed, is just the same as has been more than once avowed in every Anti-slavery paper in the country—that it is a subject within the *exclusive control* of the States themselves."—*Emancipator*, 6th *July*, 1833.

Not only has Mr. Garrison declared his readiness to sign his name to every sentiment expressed in Mr. Webster's letter, but he has used in the Liberator, the following language, "Abolitionists as clearly understand, and as sacredly regard the constitutional powers of Congress, as do their traducers; and they know and have again and again asserted, that *Congress has no more rightful authority to sit in judgment upon Southern slavery, than it has to legislate for the Abolition of slavery in the French colonies.*"

We will now select a few from the many official declarations of Abolitionists on this subject.

"The national compact was so framed as to *guarantee* the legal possession of slaves; and *physical* interference would be a violation of Christian principles." I *Rep. of New-England Anti-slavery Society*—p. 21.

"We do not aim at any interference with the constitu-

tional rights of the slave holding States; for Congress, as is well understood, has no power to abolish slavery in the several States."—*Address of the New-York city Anti-Slavery Society*—p. 5.

"We *freely and unanimously* recognize the sovereignty of each State to legislate *exclusively* on the subject of slavery, which is tolerated within its limits; we consider that Congress has no right to *interfere* with any of the slave States in relation to this subject."—*Declaration of Anti-Slavery Convention at Philadelphia*, 4th *December*, 1833.

"While it admits that each State in which slavery exists, has by the Constitution of the United States *exclusive* right to legislate in regard to its Abolition, it shall aim to convince all our fellow citizens by arguments addressed to their *understandings* and *consciences*, that slave holding is a heinous sin in the sight of God."—*Constitution of American Anti-Slavery Society.*

In December 1833, the managers of the New-York City Anti-Slavery Society printed and circulated a petition to Congress, for the Abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It commenced as follows:

To the Hon., the House of Representatives.

"Your petitioners, inhabitants of the city of New-York, beg leave to represent to your Honorable body, that whatever views they may entertain of the evils of slavery as it exists in certain States of the Federal Union, they are fully aware that these evils *are beyond the Constitutional control of the federal government;* and so far from soliciting your interposition for their removal, they would *deprecate the interference of Congress on this subject, as a violation of the national compact.*" The petition then proceeds to assert the Constitutional power of Congress to abolish slavery in the district, and asks for its exercise.

And now we ask, is there any thing in the extracts we have given, to justify, excuse, or palliate the heavy accusations made against Abolitionists? Surely it must now be conceded that however *unconstitutional* may be the emancipation contemplated by Abolitionists, it is not to be effected by *Congress.* We lament that Chancellor Walworth did not condescend to explain *how* and *why* it was unconstitu-

tional. He is accustomed to assign reasons for his decisions, and it may fairly be doubted, whether, in withholding the reasons for the judgment he has pronounced against Abolitionists, he has administered equity. He has adjudged that the emancipation contemplated by Abolitionists would "violate the rights of property," but in what way does not appear. As physical force is disclaimed, and congressional interference deprecated, the alleged violation of property must arise from the appeals made to the holders to surrender it. But surely the President of the New-York Temperance Society does not regard property in human flesh and blood so much more sacred than property in rum, that while he is laboring to induce the owners of the latter, throughout the United States, to part with their property, he looks upon every man who tells his fellow-citizens that it is their duty to manumit their slaves, as violating the rights of property! The venders of ardent spirits in New-Orleans and elsewhere, have as valid and constitutional a title to their liquors as they have to their slaves. Now hear what Mr. Frelinghuysen says of a traffick expressly sanctioned by the laws of every State in the Union. "It is mere tampering with temptation to come short of positive, decided, and uncompromising opposition. We must not only *resist*, we must *drive* it. To stand on the defensive merely, is to aid in its triumph." 7th *Rep. Am. Temp. Soc.* p. 51. Yet they who by arguments, are resisting, or driving the traffick in the souls and bodies of men, are accused of "seeking to destroy our happy union!"

The State Legislatures have as much right to authorise lotteries, as they have to authorise slavery, yet the Pennsylvania Society for abolishing lotteries, is established for the avowed purpose of abolishing, by moral influence, lotteries in *other* States, for there are none in its own. No objection is made to the constitutionality of that Society, yet epithets seem to be wanting to express the abhorrence felt for those who are aiming by the same means to rescue millions from a bondage destructive to their happiness in this world, and in that which is to come!

In the remarks we have made on the language used by Chancellor Walworth and his two associates, no unkind feelings have mingled. Not a suspicion of the goodness

of their motives has crossed our mind; we admire them for their talents, and esteem them for their virtues; and sincerely do we regret, that men who possess the power of doing so much good, should ever, through want of information, so grievously misapply it.

And now it may be asked, if Abolitionists intend to use only moral means, what good can they effect by using those means at the North, where slavery does not exist? But although slavery does not exist at the North, it is excused and justified at the North; and Southern Christians are countenanced in keeping their fellow men in bondage and in ignorance, by their Northern brethren. We have already seen the baneful influence of the Colonization Society on the treatment of the free negroes at the North: the Black Act of Connecticut is still in force, and Judge Dagget's decision remains unreversed. Slavery is in full vigor under the authority of Congress, and sanctioned by a majority consisting of Northern members; and our whole country is disgraced, and humanity and religion outraged by an extensive and abominable slave trade, conducted under the same sanction. If, therefore, it could be foreseen, that no slave in any of the States would ever be liberated, through the influence of Northern Anti-Slavery Societies, there would still remain great and glorious objects to stimulate their zeal, to employ all their energies, and abundantly to reward all their labors. But neither their labors nor rewards will be confined to the North. The consciences of Southern Christians, so long lulled by the opiate of Colonization, are awakening to duty. Southern divines are beginning to acknowledge the sinfulness of slavery, and recent slave holders are now proclaiming the safety and duty of immediate emancipation. The whole nation has been roused from its lethargy, and in almost every circle and neighborhood, the subject of Abolition is attracting attention; the violence and persecution experienced by Abolitionists, instead of suppressing, has promoted discussion; and they have reason to hope, that slavery will ultimately be abolished, by the voluntary action of the South, in compliance with the dictates of policy and of duty.

CHAPTER VII.

Safety of immediate Emancipation.

ALTHOUGH we may have succeeded in proving that the emancipation contemplated by Abolitionists, is not "unconstitutional," yet many may conscientiously doubt whether it would be safe and wise.

A few years only have elapsed, since the use of ardent spirits was as universally countenanced by all classes of the community, as slavery now is; and when the few who contended that their use was sinful, were deemed no less *fanatical* than those are now who hold the same doctrine in regard to slavery.

The whole Colonization Society, with scarcely a solitary exception,* denounce immediate emancipation as dangerous, or rather as utterly ruinous, to the whites. Their objections were thus briefly summed up by the Rev. Dr. Hawks, in his speech at a Colonization meeting in New-York:

"But if the plan of Colonization be abandoned, what remains? Are the slaves fitted for freedom? No—and if they are let loose at once, they must of *necessity*, to procure a living, either beg or steal, or destroy and displace the whites." *N. York Com. Adv.* 10th *Oct.* 1833.

Here we have broad, unqualified assertions, without a particle of proof. We find it taken for granted, that if the slaves are at once restored to liberty, they must, from *necessity*, beg or steal, or destroy and displace the whites. What causes will produce this necessity, we are uninformed; why it will be *impossible* for liberated slaves to work for wages, is unexplained. Slavery is property in human beings. Immediate emancipation is therefore nothing more than the immediate cessation of this property. But how does this cessation of property imply that those who were the subjects of it must be "let loose?" Will they not, like other persons, be subject to the control of law, and responsible for their conduct? If incapable of providing for themselves, may

* The only exception known to the writer, is G. Smith, Esq.

they not, like children, apprentices and paupers, be compelled to labor for their own maintenance? Immediate emancipation does not necessarily contemplate any relaxation of the restraints of government or morality; any admission to political rights, or improper exemption from compulsory labor. What then does such emancipation imply? It implies, that black men, being no longer property, will be capable of entering into the marriage state, and of exercising the rights, and enjoying the blessings of the conjugal and parental relations,—it implies, that they will be entitled to the fruits of their honest industry—to the protection of the laws of the land, and to the privilege of securing a happy immortality, by learning and obeying the will of their Creator.

Now, it is almost universally supposed, that such emancipation would, as a matter of course, lead to insurrection, robbery and massacre. Yet this opinion will, on examination, be found utterly irreconcileable with the divine economy, the principles of human nature, and the testimony of experience.

It is a trite remark, that nations are punished and rewarded in this world, and individuals in the next; and both sacred and profane history will be searched in vain for an instance, in which the Supreme Ruler has permitted a nation to suffer for doing justice and loving mercy. To believe that God would permit any community to be destroyed, merely because it had ceased to do evil, is to call in question the equity of his government, or the power of his providence. Who that acknowledges the truth of Revelation, can doubt, that if slavery be sinful, the sooner we part with it, the more confidently may we rely on the divine favor and protection. Infidelity alone will seek safety in human counsels, when opposed to the divine will.

But the opinion we are considering, is no less at variance with the motives and passions of our common nature, than with the dictates of Christian faith.

What is the theory on which this opinion rests? Why, that cruelty, injustice and grievous oppression, render men quiet, docile, and inoffensive subjects; and that if delivered from this cruelty, injustice, and oppression, they will rob and murder their deliverers!

This theory is happily unsupported by any facts, and rests upon the simple dogma, that the slaves are not *yet* fitted for freedom. Now we would ask, what is meant by fitness for freedom? Ought a man to be a slave, unless he can read, write and cipher? Must he be taught accounts, before he can receive wages? Should he understand law, before he enjoys its protection? Must he be instructed in morals, before he reads his Bible? If all these are prerequisites for freedom, how and when are they to be acquired in slavery?

If one century of bondage has not produced this fitness, how many will? Are our slaves more fit now, than they were ten, twenty, fifty years ago? Let the history of slave legislation answer the inquiry. When the British government insisted that female slaves should no longer be flogged naked in the colonies, the Jamaica legislature replied, that it would be impossible to lay aside the practice "UNTIL the negro women have acquired more of the sense of shame, which distinguishes European females." Slaves, while such, will become fit for freedom as soon, but not sooner, than negro women will become modest in consequence of the West-Indian mode of correction. No postponement of emancipation, will increase the fitness of slaves for freedom, and to wait for this fitness, resembles the conduct of the simpleton who loitered by the brook, expecting to pass dry shod, after the water had run off.

The conclusion to which religion and common sense would lead us on this subject, is most abundantly confirmed by experience. Passing by the emancipation of the Serfs of Europe, let us advert to various instances of the sudden abolition of negro slavery, and let us see how far the theory we are considering is supported by facts.

On the 10th October, 1811, the Congress of Chili, decreed that every child born after that day, should be free.

On the 9th April, 1812, the government of Buenos Ayres, ordered that every child born after 1st January, 1813, should be free.

On the 19th July, 1821, the Congress of Colombia passed an Act, emancipating all slaves, who had borne arms in favor of the Republic, and providing for the eman-

cipation in eighteen years, of the whole slave population of 280,000.

On the 15th September, 1821, the government of Mexico granted instantaneous and unconditional emancipation to every slave.

On the 4th July, 1827, ten thousand slaves were emancipated in the State of New-York by act of the legislature.

In all these various instances, *not one* case of insurrection or of bloodshed is known to have resulted from emancipation. But St. Domingo—ah, what recollections are awakened by that name! With what name are associated the most irrefragable proofs of the safety and wisdom of immediate emancipation; and of the ability of the African race, to value, defend, and enjoy the blessings of freedom. The apologists of slavery, are constantly reminding Abolitionists of the "SCENES IN ST. DOMINGO." Were the public familiar with the origin and history of those scenes, none but Abolitionists would dare to refer to them. We will endeavor in the next chapter to dispel the ignorance, which so extensively prevails relative to the "scenes in St. Domingo," and we trust our efforts will furnish new confirmation of the great truth, that the path of duty, is the path of safety.

CHAPTER VIII.

Emancipation in St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, and present state of St. Domingo.

IN 1790, the population of the French part of St. Domingo was estimated at 686,000. Of this number, 42,000 were white, 44,000 free people of color, and 600,000 slaves. At the commencement of the French revolution, the free colored people petitioned the National Assembly, to be admitted to political rights, and sent a deputation to Paris to attend to their interests. On the 8th March, 1790, a law was passed, granting to the colonies the right of

holding representative assemblies, and of exercising to a certain extent, legislative authority. On the 28th of the same month, another law was passed, declaring that "all *free persons* in the colonies, who were proprietors, and residents of two years standing, and who contribute to the exigencies of the State, shall exercise the right of voting."

The planters insisted that this law did not apply to free *colored* persons. They proceeded to elect a general assembly, and in this election the free blacks, were with but few exceptions, prevented from voting. The newly elected assembly issued a manifesto, declaring they would rather die, than divide their political rights with "a bastard and degenerated race." A portion of the free colored people resolved to maintain the rights given them by the mother country, and assembled in arms under one of their own number named Ogé. A letter addressed by this chief to the St. Domingo assembly, is fortunately extant, and explains the true origin of those awful calamities, which it is found expedient to ascribe to the Abolition of slavery.

"SIRS,

"A prejudice for a long time upheld, is at last about to fall. Charged with a commission honorable to myself, I call upon you to proclaim throughout the colony the decree of the National Assembly of the 28th March, which gives, without distinction, to every *free* citizen the right of being admitted to all duties and functions whatever. My pretensions are just, and I do hope you will regard them. *I shall not have recourse to any raising of the slave gangs.* It is unnecessary, and would be unworthy of me. I wish you to appreciate duly, the purity of my intentions. When I solicited of the National Assembly* the decree I obtained in favor of our American Colonists, known under the hitherto injurious distinction of the mixed race, *I never comprehended in my claims the negroes in a state of slavery.* You and our adversaries have mixed this with my proceedings to destroy my estimation in the minds of all well disposed people: but I have demanded only concessions for a class of *free men*, who have endured the yoke of your oppression for two centuries. We have no wish but for the execution of the decree of the 28th March. We insist on its promulga-

* Ogé had been one of the deputies who were sent to Paris.

tion; and we cease not to repeat to our friends, that our adversaries are not merely unjust to us, but to themselves, for they do not seem to know *that their interests are one with ours.* Before employing the means at my command, I will see what good temper will do; but if contrary to my object, you refuse what is asked, I will not answer for those disorders which may arise from merited revenge."

The shout of battle was the only answer returned to this letter. The free blacks were defeated, and their brave leader being taken prisoner, was, with a barbarity equalled only by its folly, broken alive on the wheel. A ferocious struggle now commenced between the two parties, and Ogé's death was awfully avenged. On the 15th May, 1791, the French Convention issued a decree, declaring explicitly, that "free *colored* persons were entitled to all the rights of citizenship." The planters however, refused to submit, till after 2 000 whites, and 10,000 blacks had perished. The free blacks had armed their own slaves; and many of the slaves belonging to the whites, taking advantage of the disturbed state of the island, revolted. The general assembly at length became alarmed, and on the 20th September, 1791, issued a proclamation announcing their acquiescence in the decree of the 15th May, admitting the free blacks to political equality with the whites. This proclamation immediately restored peace, and *the free blacks even assisted the planters in reducing to obedience their revolted slaves.* The peace, however, was of short duration. Intelligence was soon received that the French Convention had yielded to the clamors of the planters, and on the 24th September, only four days after the Assembly's proclamation, had repealed the decree giving political rights to the free blacks. The irritation caused by this measure may easily be imagined, and the feelings of the free blacks were exasperated by an act of folly and presumption of the Colonial Assembly. This body passed an order for disarming the whole free colored population. That population, however, instead of surrendering their arms, challenged their proud oppressors to take them, and immediately renewed the war.

On the 4th April, 1792, the vacillating policy of the French Government led it once more to pass a decree,

investing the free negroes in the Colonies with political rights; and three Commissioners, with 6,000 troops, were sent to St. Domingo to enforce the decree. The Commissioners arrived on the 13th September, and assumed the government of the island. In June, 1793, they quarrelled with the Governor, and each party took arms. The Commissioners called to their aid 3,000 revolted slaves, promising pardon for the past, and freedom for the future. About this time it was estimated that no less than 10,000 of the white inhabitants had fled from the island, in consequence of its disturbed state, and this, be it remembered, *before* a single slave had been emancipated. The Commissioners were successful in their contest with the Governor, and retained the supreme power in their own hands. But a new danger threatened them. The planters were dissatisfied with the political rights conferred on the blacks, and were, in many instances, hostile to the Republic which had been reared on the ruins of the French Monarchy. They therefore, entered into intrigues with the British Government, inviting it to take possession of the Island, hoping that thus the old order of things would be restored. The Commissioners became acquainted with the intentions of the British to invade the island. Their only defensive force consisted of the 6,000 French troops and about 15,000 militia. On the latter they were sensible but little reliance could be placed. Under these circumstances, they determined to emancipate the slaves, in order that the whole colored population might thus be induced to array itself under the Republican standard. Bryant Edwards, a well known English writer, and a most devoted apologist for slavery, in his history of this affair, after stating as a fact within his own knowledge, the overtures made by the St. Domingo planters to Great Britain, and that the Commissioners could not muster more than 22,000 effective men, adds, "These being necessarily dispersed in detachments throughout the different provinces, became on that account, little formidable to an invading army. Aware of this circumstance, the Commissioners, on the first intimation of an attack from the English, resorted to the desperate expedient of proclaiming all manner of slavery abolished."

The proclamation was made in September, 1793, and on the 19th of the same month, the British armament, under Colonel White, arrived at Jeremie, and took possession of the town, and afterwards entered Port au Prince. Thus we find, that the abolition of slavery in St. Domingo was not, as is generally supposed, the result of an insurrection by the slaves, but an act of political expediency. Let us now see what were the consequences of this act. The whole colored population remained loyal to the Republican cause. The British were masters only of the soil covered by their troops, and at length, wearied out by the inveterate opposition they experienced, they abandoned all hopes of conquest, and in 1798 evacuated the island. In the mean time, the intercourse between the colony and the mother country became more and more interrupted. The seas were scoured by British cruisers, and the colonists were left by France to govern themselves. The whole colonial administration had been entirely subverted, the Commissioners had returned to France, and it became necessary to adopt some political system. Under these circumstances, Toussaint, a black, who had acquired power and influence, submitted, in 1801, to a general assembly, a republican constitution, which was adopted, and the Island was declared to be an independent State on the 1st July, 1801. But during all this time, what was the conduct of the emancipated slaves? Before we answer this question, let us remind the reader that the emancipation was not only *immediate* but *unpremeditated.* No measures had been taken to *fit* about 600,000 slaves for freedom, but suddenly, unexpectedly, almost in the twinkling of an eye, they ceased to be property, and were invested with the rights of human nature. And were the predictions of the Rev. Dr. Hawkes verified in St. Domingo? Did the manumitted slaves maintain themselves by begging and stealing, or did they destroy and displace the whites? Let an eye witness answer the inquiry. Colonel Malefant, then a resident on the island, says in his "*Memoire historique et politique des colonies et particulierment de celle de St. Dominique.*" p 58.

"After this public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet both in the south and in the west, and they

continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates indeed, which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, for some of them had been put in prison by Montburn, and others fearing the same fate had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English. Yet, upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes continued their labors, where there were any, even inferior agents to guide them; and on those estates where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to planting of provisions: *but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor quietly as before.*"

In another place (p. 125,) he says—

"How did I succeed in the plain of the Cul de Sac, and on the plantation Gourard, more than eight months after liberty had been granted to the blacks? Let those who knew me at that time, and even the blacks themselves, be asked. They will reply that not a *single* negro upon that plantation, consisting of four hundred and fifty laborers, refused to work, and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain. I myself inspired the same activity into three other plantations of which I had the management." He goes on to assert that "the colony was flourishing under Toussaint—*the whites lived happily, and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them.*" Toussaint came into power under the French authority, in 1796, and remained in power till 1802, or the commencement of the war with France. Thus it appears that the manumitted slaves continued quietly at work, from their emancipation in 1793, till 1802, a period of about eight years.

This was not, let it be remembered, a season of peace. During most of the time a fierce war was waged against the English invaders. In this war a portion of the planters took part with the enemy, and experienced at the hands of the blacks, those cruelties which so often distinguish a civil war. But on a careful and scrupulous examination of the history of this period, we cannot find, that from the date of the emancipation in 1793, to the French invasion in 1802, *a single white man* was injured by the liberated slaves, unless he had previously placed himself in the attitude of a

political enemy by siding with the British. Immediately on the evacuation of the island by the British, profound tranquillity prevailed and the planters who remained, and the emigrants who returned enjoyed their estates without molestation.

Malefant is not the only witness we can cite to these facts. General Lacroix, who published his "Memoirs for a history of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819, speaking of the colony in 1797, says, "It marched as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendor: cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The City of the Cape, and the plantations of the North, rose up again visibly to the eye." p. 311.

The author of "the History of St. Domingo," printed in London, 1818, speaking of Toussaint, says:

"When he restored many of the planters to their estates, there was no restoration of their former property in human beings. No human being was to be bought or sold. Severe tasks, flagellations, and scanty food, were no longer to be endured. The planters were obliged to employ their laborers on the footing of hired servants; and the negroes were *required* to labor for their own livelihood. The amount of remuneration was not left to individual generosity or private agreement, but it was fixed by law, that the cultivators should have for their wages a third part of the crops. While this ample encouragement was afforded for the excitement of industry, penalties were at the same time denounced for the punishment of idleness.

"The effect of these regulations were visible throughout the country. *Obliged* to work, but in a moderate manner, and for handsome wages, and at liberty for the most part to choose their own masters, the plantation negroes were in general contented, healthy and happy."*

And now let Abolitionists be reminded of the "scenes in St. Domingo;" yes, let those scenes be constantly kept before the public as an awful and affecting memento of the justice due to the free blacks, and as a glorious demonstra-

*These representations are confirmed by the fact, that the exports from St. Domingo in 1801, seven years after emancipation, were, of sugar, 18,535,132 lbs.; coffee, 43,420,270 lbs.; cotton, 2,480,340 lbs. *Mc Culloch's Dict. of Commerce.* p. 926.

tion of the perfect safety of immediate and unconditional emancipation.

Yet men who believe it safe to do *immediate* justice, and who find from history that God never permits a nation to suffer for obeying his commands, are held up to the derision and detestation of the community as fanatics and incendiaries. Let us see what new proofs of their fanaticism are afforded by the history of the abolition of slavery in Guadaloupe.

On the 20th April, 1794, a British armament, under Sir Charles Grey, took the French island of Guadaloupe, many of the planters, as in St. Domingo, being royalists and favoring the cause of the invaders.

On the 5th June, following, a French force, under Victor Hugo, arrived to dispute the possession of the island. The Republican general immediately proclaimed the freedom of the slaves, in pursuance of a decree of the National Assembly of the preceding February; and arming the negroes, led them against the enemy. The English were soon confined within narrow quarters, and by the 10th December, were compelled to evacuate the island. From this time, Guadaloupe remained a dependance of France till 1810, when it was retaken by the English.

On the abolition of slavery, *la police rurale*, was substituted for it. The slaves were converted into free laborers, and were entitled to their food, and one fourth of the produce of their labor. They were 85,000 in number, and the whites only 13,000. So far was the cultivation of the island from being suspended by emancipation, that in 1801, an official report stated the plantations as follows, viz.: of sugar, 390; of coffee, 1355; of cotton, 328; and 25 grass farms. The peace of Amiens unhappily afforded Bonaparte an opportunity to re-establish slavery in Guadaloupe. In the summer of 1802, Richepanse landed on the island at the head of a powerful French force, and in a short time by the indiscriminate massacre of all who opposed his purpose, fulfilled the object of his mission at the sacrifice, it is said, of nearly 20,000 negro lives.

Immediately preceding this atrocious act, all was peace and prosperity; and so late as February, 1802, the supreme council of Gaudaloupe, in an official document, alluding to

the tranquillity which reigned throughout the island, observed: "We shall have the satisfaction of having given an example, which will prove that *all classes* of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures JUSTICE TO ALL CLASSES."

In Gaudaloupe, we see an instance of a great preponderating slave population suddenly emancipated, and yet peaceably pursuing their labors for seven years, and living in harmony with the white proprietors.

If we are to believe Colonizationists, the negro character is to be exhibited in all its perfection in Liberia; but in America, the black man can never rise from his present degradation. Do we inquire the reason, we are promptly told, that no equality can subsist between the white and black races, and that the latter to be great and happy must live alone. Strange it is, that instead of referring to St. Domingo as an apt illustration of their theory, they are fond of citing the *present state of that island* as a warning against Abolition—as a proof that free negroes are too indolent to work, too deficient in enterprise, to attain national prosperity. If such be the fact, how faithless must be their predictions of the future glory of Liberia. Let us now attend to the gloomy and disheartening account, which the chairman of the executive committee of the New-York Colonization Society gives us of St. Domingo; an account which, if true, ought to induce the Society to abandon their enterprise.

"More than thirty years have elapsed since slavery was abolished in St. Domingo. Through scenes of unparalleled devastation and blood, the blacks *expelled their white masters*, and have ever since lived under a government of their own. But from the day of their emancipation to the present, the population for the most part, has been idle and worthless.

"St. Domingo was the garden of the new world—the richest of the Indies. But its villas have gone to ruin, and its fields run to waste. Thorns and briars have choked their gardens, and the plantations have been barren from idleness. The government has ever been despotic, and of necessity; and AT LAST its power has been called forth for the regulation of labor—the labor of freemen, to prevent

the island from going entirely to ruin. The following extract from a late Haytian enactment is in point, and will serve as a practical commentary upon the mad schemes of our *well meaning* but deluded philanthropists. We have extracted the following articles which render the condition of the free blacks *very little different from, if not actually worse than the condition of the slaves in any part of the United States."* Com. Advertiser*, 24th *September*, 1834. Then follow extracts from the rural code of Hayti, from which it appears, that all persons without land or occupation are compelled to labor, and are liable to imprisonment for idleness.

It is remarkable that the philanthropists, on whose mad schemes this code is supposed to be a commentary, are admitted on the 24th September, to be "well meaning," whereas, on the 9th June preceding, we were assured by this same gentleman, that the "*design*" of these philanthropists was "to foment a servile war in the South." To convince us how unfit negroes are for freedom, we are here informed that thirty years after slavery was abolished in St. Domingo, the government has *at last* exerted its power for the regulation of labor, to prevent the island from going entirely to ruin. It so happens, that the regulation of labor, instead of being an expedient resorted to *at last* to save the island from ruin, was coeval with the Act of emancipation. On the 28th February, 1794, Etienne Polverel,

* This last assertion is so very extraordinary, that we are constrained to believe Mr. Stone has never read the "enactment" from which he quotes. The present rural code of Hayti was adopted in 1826. It is a document filling about fifteen folio pages, and displays a strong desire to secure justice to the laborers. By this code, all "who shall not be able to show that they possess the means of subsistence, shall be bound to cultivate the earth." Such persons are required to hire themselves as farm laborers, but they are at perfect liberty to *select* their employer. The parties enter into written contracts for not less than three, nor more than nine years. The compensation to the laborers on a farm, varies according to the terms of the contract from one-fourth to one-half of the whole produce of the farm. All disputes between the employer and his people are settled by a justice of the peace. The employer can no more flog or otherwise punish his "cultivators," than an American farmer can his hired laborers. Not even for crimes is corporal punishment allowed in Hayti. The cultivator has by law, the whole of Saturday and Sunday to himself, and on other days, he cannot be required to work *after* sunset. There is nothing to prevent him from accumulating property by industry and economy, buying a farm and hiring laborers in his turn.

"civil commissary of the Republic, delegated to the French Leeward islands in America, for the purpose of re-establishing the public order and tranquillity," published in the name of the French people a rural code for the government of the liberated slaves in St. Domingo. It is long, and descends to minute particulars—a brief extract will show that it *regulated labor*.

"The ordinary day's labor is limited to about nine hours, viz: from sunrise to half-past eight—from half-past nine to twelve—and from two to sunset, and in crop time it shall be extended to eight o'clock in the evening—The laborers shall be bound to obey the overseers, and the overseers to obey each other according to their rank; but their authority shall be confined to the cultivation and good order of the plantation. Those laborers, who in these points shall refuse to obey the order of the overseers, shall be subject to *a month's imprisonment, with labor during the day on public works*," &c., &c. This code continued in force till August, 1798, when it was somewhat modified by Toussaint, and we have already seen on the authority of the history of St. Domingo, that "the planters were obliged to employ their laborers on the footing of hired servents, and the negroes were *required* to labor for their livelihood." Hence it appears that the regulation of labor in St. Domingo, is not as Mr. Stone seems to suppose a recent exertion of power on the part of the government.

But what shall we say of the ruined villas, the barren plantations, the gardens choked with thorns? Admitting Mr. Stone's melancholy picture to be correct, cannot we explain it, on other principles than such as would be fatal to the freedom and happiness of millions? The zealous editor seems wholly to have forgotten the terrible war which the Haytians were compelled to wage in defence of their liberty. In 1802, a French army landed in St. Domingo, for the purpose of again reducing its inhabitants to slavery, and a war ensued, which, for its desolating fury, is probably without a parallel. An historian of this war, thus concludes his account of it:

"At length, in the month of December, 1803, the island was finally abandoned, a mere handful of the French troops escaping the destruction which had already overtaken

60,000 of their fellows! Thus for nearly two years, with a very brief interval, had a war raged in St. Domingo, singularly ferocious and vindictive in its character, and directed latterly more to extermination than to conquest, sparing neither sex nor age, and sweeping away from the whole face of the plains of that beautiful island *every trace of cultivation.* So complete was the extinction of all sugar culture in particular, that for a time not an ounce of that article was procurable. The very roots and fruits on which subsistence depended, were cultivated only in *mornes.* Desolation, therefore, could hardly be conceived more complete, than prevailed in 1804 and 1805 over all those parts of the colony, *which had formerly been covered with plantations;* and it is well known how soon the rank vegetation of a tropical climate converts the neglected plantation into jungle."

And is it a proof that slaves ought never to be emancipated, that St. Domingo has not in thirty years, after such wide spread desolation, become again in the hands of men recently delivered from bondage, and for the most part, poor and ignorant, "the garden of the new world?" And was, indeed, that an "idle and worthless" population, which successfully resisted the arms of England and of France, and achieved their freedom by an heroic sacrifice of their lives and property—a sacrifice, which, had their complexion been white, would have been celebrated by poets and orators in every portion of the civilized world?

Let us now inquire, whether the *present state* of the island is in truth such as is alleged.

The Rev. Simon Clough, D. D., L. L. D., has lately published a pamphlet, ("Appeal to the Citizens of the United States") in which he undertakes to justify slavery from the Scriptures, and to prove that all clergymen who advocate immediate abolition, are "false teachers," and ought to be dismissed by their congregations. Now this most veracious teacher, speaking of St. Domingo, assures us, (p. 16:) "At the *present time,** there is not ONE sugar, coffee, or cotton plantation on the island. There is now exported about five million pounds of inferior coffee, *which*

* The pamphlet was published in New-York, 1834.

grows wild, and is picked up by the inhabitants off the ground, where it falls after it becomes ripe."

Strange it is, that this island, if in the state described by Messrs. Stone and Clough, should support a population of 935,000.* Still more strange is it, that when the *whole* export of coffee is only about five million pounds, it should appear from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, that the coffee exported in 1833, from Hayti to the United States *alone*, amounted to eleven million, seven hundred eighty-four thousand, eight hundred and thirty-five pounds. Most passing strange is it, that the imports into this country, in the same year, from an island in which there is not ONE sugar, coffee, or cotton plantation; with an idle and worthless population; with its fields run to waste, and its plantations barren from idleness, should nevertheless *exceed in value* our imports in the same period, from either Prussia—Sweden and Norway—Denmark, and the Danish West-Indies—Ireland and Scotland—Holland—Belgium —Dutch East-Indies—British West-Indies—Spain—Portugal—all Italy—Turkey and the Levant—or any one republic in South America!†

Neither Mr. Stone nor Dr. Clough, profess to speak from *personal observation.* Let us then listen to an eye witness. In 1831, was published in a London periodical, the journal of a traveller in Hayti. The following are extracts:

"*Port au Prince, Island of Hayti, June* 25, 1830.

"Being aware, that this city had very recently suffered greatly by fire, I expected to see an unsightly waste of ruin and decay; but the lots are rebuilt, and many a splendid and substantial edifice, *surpassing those to be seen in the city of Kingston in Jamaica,* has arisen as the first fruits of the security which property enjoys, by the recognized independence of Hayti.

"I have made an excursion or two, just out of the town, to the little cottage settlements, on the side of the mountain above the city. I am told, that in the ancient Regime—that is the phrase here for the old state of things,

* Census of 1824.

† See documents accompanying Letter from Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 21st April, 1834.

the plains were a source of so abundant a return for the industry of the proprietor, that the mountains in this neighborhood were comparatively neglected, so that the 'Camp des Fourmis,' the range of hills so called, extending from Point Lamentin to the Cul de Sac, were heretofore never cultivated as they are now. At *present*, they are covered with *a thousand small settlements appropriated to coffee*, and provisions, and fruits, and vegetables, in which the advantages of irrigation, presented by the frequent springs, bursting from the mountain ravines, have been diligently attended to, in the agricultural economy. The water is trenched over the sunny surface of each projecting irregularity of the ridge; and height above height, the cottage of the humble cultivator is seen; or the substantial country-seat of the Haytian merchant, with its baths, bowers, and terraced gardens have been erected.

"Port au Prince, though by no means a handsome town, is, at this day, in style, and one may say splendor, far superior to what it was in the colonial period of its history.

"The frequent calamities, to which it has been subjected from fire, and the immense and valuable property lost by earthquakes, in the years 1820 and 1822, have led the Haytians to attempt providing against the two-fold liability, as they expressed it, of being *bouleverse et incendie*. They have commenced re-erecting some of the houses destroyed by these conflagrations, with stone or brick, cased over wooden frames, at once to sustain the shock of the earthquake, and to repel the action of the fire. They cover the roofs with tiles, or slates, rather than shingles; and erect their stores for merchandize with fire-proof terraces, and wrought iron doors and windows. These buildings have galleries and arched colonnades, with heavy cornices and balustrades screening the roof; and floors of variegated marble, and tiles in the upper as well as lower stories. If continued generally, they will render this city not only one of the most elegant in the West-Indies, but one in which the houses will exhibit an interior economy, the very best adapted to the necessities of the climate. The decorations are appropriate. The rich, varied mahogany of the country is manufactured into elegant furniture by the artizans

here; and the French taste of gilded mirrors, Or Molu clocks, and porcelain vases, filled with artificial flowers, impart to the dwellings of the simple Haytians an air of refinement not unworthy of Europe.

"The scene presented to the view of the traveller, who quits the city of Port au Prince, to journey on the highway to the mountains, though a wild waste, is not a solitary one. On the road he will meet a multitude of cultivators coming to the city market, with horses and asses loaded with provisions. He will see wagons with produce, drawn by hardy and healthy cattle. If he departs from the high-road, and turns to the right hand, through one of the woodland paths, he will find himself entering into open grounds, covered with verdant fields; he will see traces every where visible of *renewed* cultivation; mansions *re-erected;* aqueducts *reconducting* their streams to irrigate the land; the sound of water-mills at work; cottages no longer deserted, but tenanted by laborers once more issuing from them, to gather in the harvest of the teeming soil.

"The island of Jamaica does not exhibit a plantation better established than Chateau Blond; whether we consider the resources of the land, or the *mechanical* economy by which those resources are commanded, it is a splendid establishment.

"To me, who have had an opportunity from the day of my birth, and long residence in a slave colony, of forming by comparison a correct estimate of this people's advancement, the general quiet conduct and respectful behavior of all classes here, publicly and privately, is a matter exciting great surprise."

All this, it may be said, is anonymous testimony. It is so, and yet it seems entitled to at least as much weight, as the bare, naked assertions of Messrs. Stone and Clough. We will now offer testimony, to which we presume no objection will be made. The following are extracts from "the report of the select committee on the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions, with minutes of evidence, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11th August, 1832."

Evidence of Mr. Robert Sutherland.

"Are there many persons who work for hire in Hayti?

Yes—the whole cultivation is carried on by free labor. Do these persons work with industry and vigor?

"I have no reason to think they do not. The proof, that free labor in Hayti answers, is this, that after the French were expelled, *there was absolutely no sugar work*—there was no mill—there was nothing of that kind which could be put in use: it was destroyed; and since that period, various plantations have grown up in Hayti. Men have gone to the expense of thirty and forty thousand dollars, to build up those sugar works; and it stands to reason, that unless these men were repaid for their capital, they would not continue that sort of work. And there is another thing to be observed—that sugar is not the staple commodity of Hayti; they only make sufficient for their own consumption. Coffee is the staple commodity of the island.

"If a man can show, that he has the means of subsistence of his own, is he compelled to labor under the *code rurale?*

"Decidedly not.

"Do you believe that corporeal punishment is inflicted upon any of the laborers in Hayti?

"I believe it is impossible. I have seen the peasantry in the Highlands of Scotland where I was brought up, and I declare that the negroes in St. Domingo are comparatively as much superior to them in comfort, as it is possible for one man to be over another."

Evidence of Vice Admiral, the Hon. Charles Fleming, member of Parliament:

"Was told that vagrants and deserters worked by compulsion, but he did not see any himself. Had never heard of any working under the lash. *The lash was prohibited by law.* The Haytians appeared to him the happiest, best fed, and most comfortable negroes he had ever seen: better off even than in the Caraccas: infinitely better than in Jamaica; there was no comparison between them. He could not speak positively of the increase of the Haytian population since 1804, but believed it had *trebled* since that time. They now feed themselves, and they export provisions, which neither the French nor the Spaniards had ever done before.

"He saw *a sugar estate* near Cape Haytian, General Boulon's, extremely well cultivated, and in beautiful order. It was wrought by blacks, all free. A new plantation was forming on the opposite side of the road. Their victuals were very superior to those in Jamaica, consisting chiefly of meat; cattle being very cheap. The highest contract beef in Hayti, was 2*d*, in Jamaica it was 12*d*. *He saw no marks of destitution any where.* The country seemed improving, and trade increasing. The estate he visited near the Cape was large; it was calculated to make 300 hogsheads of sugar. It was beautifully laid out, and as well managed as any estate he had seen in the West Indies. His official correspondence as Admiral with the Haytian government, made him attribute much efficiency to it, and it bore strong marks of civilization. There was a better police in Hayti, than in the new South American States; the communication was more rapid; the roads much better. One had been cut from Port au Prince to Cape Haytian, that would do honor to any country. A regular post was established. The government is one quite worthy of a civilized people. The negroes of Hayti, are certainly richer, and happier, and in a better condition than he had ever seen elsewhere. They were all working in the fields when he was there. He rode about very much. He did not think any acts of oppression were practised on the people of Hayti by the government."

Mr. Jeremie, late first president of the royal court of St. Lucia, informs us, that in St. Domingo, "is found *a happy, flourishing, and contented peasantry*, engaged in the cultivation of their own small freeholds; and as these persons acquire capital, they form larger establishments, and are gradually rising. This proves, that the general wants of the community are supplied, and, if well governed, that community must soon acquire strength, and rise to importance." *Essays on Colonial Slavery*, 1832. p. 63.

The following facts, collected from the new and valuable "Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation," by J. R. McCulloch, London edition, 1834, abundantly confirm the foregoing testimonies.

In 1786, the exportation of coffee was about 35,000

tons. In consequence of the subsequent devastation of the island, the exportation for some years almost totally ceased; but it has now risen to about 20,000 tons! p. 309.

The amount of the following articles, exported in 1832, was estimated as follows, viz:

Coffee,	50,000,000 lbs.
Cotton,	1,500,000 lbs.
Tobacco,	500,000 lbs.
Cocoa,	500,000 lbs.
Dye wood,	5,000,000 lbs.
Tortoise shell,	12,000 lbs.
Mahogany,	6,000,000 feet
Hides,	80,000—p. 927

The quantity of sugar exported in 1832, is not stated; but in 1826, it amounted to 32,864 lbs.; and it should be recollected, that about twenty years before, not an ounce of that article was manufactured on the island. p. 926.

The imports into France, in 1831, from Hayti, exceeded in value the imports from Sweden—Denmark, the Hanseatic Towns—Holland—Portugal—Austria—the French East-Indies—or China. p. 637.

In the same year, the importation of French wines into Hayti amounted to 108,395 gallons. p. 1250.*

Cotton manufactures, to the amount of 6,828,576 yards, were exported from Great Britain to Hayti in 1831, being about one-tenth the number of yards exported in the same time to the United States. p. 446.

Our readers are now competent to judge for themselves how far the assertions of Mr. Stone and the Rev. Dr. Clough, are consistent with truth; and also, what *is* "the practical commentary" offered by the history and present state of St. Domingo, on "the mad schemes of our well meaning but deluded philanthropists."

* The quantity of French wine imported the same year into Great Britain for home consumption, was 254,366 gallons. p. 1255.

CHAPTER IX.

Emancipation in the British West Indies.

THE British Government, in part to conciliate the West India proprietors, and in part through apprehension of the *danger* of immediate emancipation, determined to abolish slavery in such a manner as to *fit* the slave for freedom. Instead of breaking his yoke, it was to be reduced in weight; and six years were to be occupied in filing off his manacles. On the first of last August, the slave was told and believed, that slavery was abolished; but on the morrow, he was summoned to his usual task, and required to work as before, without reward. Astonished and disappointed, he doubted the legality of the mandate, and hesitated to obey it. He was then informed, that, although no longer a slave, he was nevertheless *an apprentice*, and must toil on for six years longer, before he could enjoy the fruit of his labor. Had emancipation been nominally, as well as really, prospective, the slave would have regarded it as a boon; but he did not readily comprehend the distinction between slavery and apprenticeship.

There was, however, a very important distinction, which he soon discovered, and which did not promote his acquiescence in protracted wrong. The lash was, by act of Parliament, wrested from the master's hand; and while he was authorized to command his apprentices to labor, he was forbidden to punish them for idleness or insubordination. On this subject a Jamaica paper remarks: "It is clear, and there is no use in disguising the fact, that the apprentices can no longer be coerced in the way they formerly were; for in the first place, no magistrate can legally inflict more than twenty-nine stripes, and, in the next, it is not possible to furnish magistrates enough for the purpose. The hope, therefore, of coercing, is absurd, and must be abandoned."

The conduct of the West India negroes, under these circumstances, proves how utterly groundless are the ap-

prehensions entertained of emancipation. Disappointed and irritated, and at the same time almost wholly released from the control of their masters, they have exhibited a meekness, patience, and forbearance, utterly without a parallel. The great mass of the apprentices continue to labor, but some have either refused to work, or accomplish less than their appointed tasks. None of the insurrections, murders and conflagrations, which were so confidently predicted by the enemies of abolition, have occurred. Not one life has yet been taken, not one dwelling fired,* throughout the British West Indies, by the emancipated slaves.

This forbearance is the more remarkable, when we consider the numerical superiority of the negroes, in the West Indies, and particularly in Jamaica, where there are 331,000 slaves, and only 37,000 whites.

Whatever may be the result of the apprenticeship experiment, Abolitionists are not responsible for it. It was adopted contrary to their advice, and is inconsistent with the doctrines they profess. The emancipation which they believe to be most consonant with the will of God, most conducive to the safety and happiness of the whites, is *immediate and unconditional.* They rejoice that their doctrines are at this moment subjected to a severe and practical test, and they await the issue with unshaken confidence.

The Legislatures of Bermuda and Antigua, have adopted the same course which the American Anti-Slavery Society recommends to the slave States. With the permission of the British government, these Legislatures dispensed with the apprenticeship altogether, and on the first of last August, granted *immediate and unqualified emancipation.* That we may judge of the fanaticism, the madness, the reckless incendiarism of these Legislatures, we must take into consideration the number of slaves they "let loose upon the community," and their relative proportion to the white population.

In Bermuda there are 5,500 whites, 4,650 slaves, and 500 free blacks. In Antigua, 2,000 whites, 30,000 slaves, and 4,500 free blacks.†

* Two sheds, called *trash houses*, were lately burned in Jamaica, probably, but not certainly, by an apprentice.

† American Almanac.

The Bermuda Gazette, of the 4th August, thus speaks of the great change effected on the 1st:

"The day was as remarkable for quietude, exemption from labor, and solemnity, as that which makes the Sabbath in a Christian land. The only bustle perceptible, was in preparation for attending public worship, which his Excellency, the Governor, most wisely ordered to be performed: thereby dedicating it wholly to God, the willer and doer of this great work. The churches, and other places of public worship on the island, were crowded to excess, every possible accommodation being afforded to the colored people. From every quarter we hear of their orderly, nay more, exemplary behavior. Four days of universal freedom have now passed, and four days of more perfect regularity and quiet have these famed peaceful islands never witnessed."

Such was the *immediate* result of turning loose 4,000 slaves. Let us now attend to subsequent testimony. The Hon. Mr. Butterfield, Chief Justice of Bermuda, in his charge to the grand jury on the 6th November, referring to the abolition of slavery in the island, observed:

"This measure, which was necessarily one of fearful experiment, has not, I am happy to say, disappointed the hopes of the public, whose feelings in its favor were expressed with an unanimity as unexampled as, I am proud to say, altogether honorable to the character of the country. On the contrary, it is a subject of congratulation, and certainly of commendation to the emancipated, that in *three months* during which we have been able to mark its working, *the general character and comfort of society has improved*, and that the evils which some of its best friends apprehended, were *in all cases* overrated, and in some have hitherto had no existence."

But in Bermuda the whites were equal to the blacks, and the manumitted slaves were perhaps restrained from outrage, by the consciousness of their own weakness. It seems as if Providence had provided *facts* to refute every argument that can be urged against abolition. Let us now turn to Antigua, where the slaves were to the whites as 15 to 1, and the free blacks as 3 to 2, and see how far in this overwhelming preponderance of the colored over the white

population, immediate emancipation confirmed Dr. Hawks's theory? Let the Antigua newspaper of 7th August, answer the inquiry.

"The great doubt is solved—*the alarming prognostications of the advocates of slavery falsified*—the highest hopes of the negroes' friends fulfilled, and their pledge honorably redeemed. A whole people, comprising thirty thousand souls, have passed from slavery into freedom, not only without the slightest irregularity, but with the solemn and decorous tranquillity of a Sabbath. A week has nearly elapsed, and although all eyes and ears are open, and reports spread rapidly, we have not heard of a single act of insolence, insubordination or violence committed by any one of them, under false and licentious notions of freedom."

From the same paper, of the 14th August: "It is with the highest satisfaction we announce, that we know of, and believe that there *is no gang of laborers in the island, which has not returned to its accustomed employment.*"

So that two weeks after the slaves were "let loose," instead of begging and stealing, they were all quietly at work.

We quote from the same paper of the 21st August:

"The third week of freedom will close with this day, and again we are bound to express our gratitude and praise to the Divine goodness, for the perfect peace and tranquillity, which the island enjoys. Not the least symptom of insubordination has manifested itself any where; and the daily accounts from all quarters testify to the excellent disposition and conduct of the new freemen."

In a letter from Antigua, dated 30th August, and published in a Norfolk paper, we find the following:

"The operations of commerce have experienced no interruption; public confidence remains unshaken. *Two sugar plantations have recently leased for as much as they were worth, with the negroes included, prior to emancipation.*"

While the Jamaica papers are filled with complaints of the conduct of the apprentices, and predictions of the ruin of the island, one of them (10th September) says: "In Antigua, all appears to be peaceable and quiet. Its rulers

evinced more wisdom, and proved themselves to be better tacticians, than those of any other colonies, Bermuda excepted. In getting rid of the apprenticeship, they got rid of the source, and *only* source of heart-burning between them and their laborers; and we maintain, as a *free* colony, will soon experience advantages not to be enjoyed by others, so long at least as the humbug continues."

About seven months have now elapsed, since the thirty thousand slaves of Antigua were suddenly "let loose," and, as yet, we have not heard of a single outrage committed by them. It had been customary in this island, as an additional security against insurrection, to proclaim martial law at the Christmas holy-days, during which time the slaves had peculiar opportunities for forming conspiracies. The great act of justice accomplished on the first of August, relieved the planters of all apprehension of insurrection; and not only was the usual proclamation withheld at the last Christmas, *but the militia was exempted from duty.* In a late speech, by the Speaker of the Antigua House of Assembly, he adverted to the "universal tranquillity," that prevailed, and to the "respectful demeanor of the lower classes;" and declared, that "the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the colony was absolutely on the ADVANCE."

CHAPTER X.

Gradual and immediate Emancipation.

If we have been successful in our endeavors to prove, that the removal of slavery by colonization is both morally and physically impossible, then it necessarily follows, that the slaves must be emancipated here, or that slavery must be indefinitely continued.

Should the former alternative be adopted, the important question occurs: ought the emancipation to be *gradual* or *immediate?*

If this question is to be determined with reference to

moral obligation, it is certainly difficult for those who regard slavery as sinful to justify its continuance even for a limited time. If, however, the question is to be decided on the ground of mere political expediency, there are many and powerful objections to *gradual* emancipation. These objections, it is true, have more or less weight, according to circumstances, and what may at first view, seem paradoxical, their weight is proportioned to the number of slaves to be emancipated.

In New-York, slavery was for the most part gradually abolished; that is, the children, born after a certain day, became free, as they respectively reached the age of twenty-eight years; and when the whole number of slaves were reduced to ten thousand, they were liberated in a single day. In New-York, the white population so greatly exceeded the black, that no jealousy was entertained of the free negroes, and no inconvenience experienced in uniting free and slave labor. But in those States, in which nearly all the laborers are slaves, where every free black is regarded as a nuisance and an incendiary, and where the planter would, on no consideration, permit him to labor in company with his slaves, much difficulty would necessarily attend a *gradual* relinquishment of slave labor.

Suppose, in South-Carolina for instance, ten thousand slaves should be annually manumitted by law. This would certainly be gradual emancipation, as it would require about forty years to free the whole number. Now, what would become of these ten thousand yearly discharged from the plantations? Would their late masters be willing to hire them, and turn them back into their cotton-fields? The supposition is extravagant. The planter would dread their influence on his remaining slaves, and these would certainly, and with great reason, be dissatisfied at seeing their late companions working for wages, while they themselves were denied any compensation for their toil. But if the ten thousand liberated slaves were not employed, how could they obtain a livelihood, and how could the planters supply their place on the plantations? The idea, that by gradual emancipation, the slaves will become *fit* for freedom, is visionary in the extreme. The house of

bondage is not the school in which men are to be trained for liberty.

As then gradual emancipation, however desirable, if no other can be obtained, is so full of difficulty, and, in the opinion of slave holders, so *dangerous* that they have almost universally passed laws to prevent it, the only alternative is *immediate emancipation* or *continued slavery*.

It seems scarcely possible, that any conscientious man, after considering the results of immediate emancipation in St. Domingo, and Guadaloupe, in New-York, in Mexico, in South America, and in the West-Indies, should join in the popular clamor against it, as necessarily leading to massacre and rapine. No reason can be assigned, why the whites would not possess the same physical power to prevent or suppress outrage after, as before emancipation; but abundant reason may be given, why the blacks, when restored to their rights, and enjoying the protection and privileges of civil society, should be less disposed to destroy their benefactors and deliverers, than they are when smarting under cruelty and injustice, to destroy those whom they regard as their tyrants and oppressors.

Who, with the knowledge, that no white man has ever been murdered in consequence of immediate emancipation, dares to declare in the presence of his Maker, that self-preservation forbids the abolition of slavery?

But we are met with the inquiry, how are the owners to be compensated for the loss of their property? This same objection was made to the suppression of the African slave trade. British merchants had invested large capitals in the traffick, and it was contended, that to prohibit the trade, was to violate the rights of property. All governments possess the right to suppress practices injurious to society, and to abate nuisances.* The State of New-York abolished slavery, without compensating the slave holders. The same has been done in Mexico, and in various instances in South America, and the compensation

* "How little to be respected," exclaimed Lord Mulgrave, late governor of Jamaica, "is that rigid regard for the rights of property, which says a man shall do what he likes with his own, when his *own* is his fellow man."

given by Parliament to the West-India proprietors, probably arose from the consideration, that the legislators who enacted the Abolition law, were not *themselves* personally affected by it; and in order, therefore, to avoid the reproach of indulging their benevolence at the expense of others, granted a pecuniary compensation to the owners of the emancipated slaves.

So far as the *public* wealth is concerned, it would be enhanced, not diminished, by emancipation. In what does the property in slaves actually consist? Only in the product of their labor. Now Colonization, by removing the slaves, would utterly annihilate this property; it would deprive the South of the avails of two millions of laborers! Emancipation, instead of removing these laborers, would stimulate their industry, improve their morals, quicken their intelligence, and convert a dangerous, idle, and vicious population into wholesome citizens. Were all the slaves in South-Carolina emancipated to-morrow, every branch of industry would derive new energy, and every species of property, an increased value, from the additional security which such a measure would give to society. All dread of insurrection would vanish, and one half of the population, who are now regarded as implacable foes, would be converted into useful friends.

But it is objected, that the emancipated blacks will form a bad population. One would think, from this objection, that the slaves now form a *good* population, and that they are to be rendered ignorant and immoral by freedom. Unquestionably, the liberated slaves, like all other vicious and degraded people, will form a bad population; but if they are such while in bondage, and must ever remain such until liberated, then emancipation is the only process by which a bad, can be converted into a good population. As soon as they are free, they will be accessible to education and religious instruction, and all those various motives which operate as a wholesome restraint on the evil passions of our nature. It would be most unjust to estimate the future character of the emancipated slaves, supposing slavery to be immediately abolished, by the *present* character of the free negroes. These last, in the slave States, are a hated and persecuted race. They are *kept* not only

in ignorance, but in idleness. The planters will not employ them, for fear they will contaminate the slaves; and the whole legislation of the Southern States, towards this people, is to degrade and brutify them. But these wicked efforts are the results of slavery, and would cease with it. Were slavery abolished, then it would be the obvious interest of the South to improve the black population, and the causes which necessarily render the free blacks vicious, would no longer operate. The same remark applies, although with less force, to the free blacks of the North. Colonization and slavery, have both had their influence in keeping alive, and aggravating the prejudices against color, and these prejudices have led to that system of persecution and oppression to which the free blacks here are subjected.

And now what injury or loss would the planter sustain, by the emancipation of his slaves? As a trader in human flesh, his vocation would, indeed, be gone, but as the cultivator of the soil, his profits would be undiminished. The number of laborers would be as great as before; and they would still be dependent on labor for their support. They now cost their owner their food and clothing, and their maintenance in sickness, in youth, and in old age; the expense also of the idle and worthless, is as great as that of the good. Their cost as free laborers would be but little more than at present, while their characters would be improved, and the employer could select such laborers as his occasions required. The laborers finding their wages, and of course their comforts depending on their good conduct, would be prompted to industry and sobriety; and having nothing to gain by insurrection, and feeling no injuries to avenge, all malignant designs against their employers would be laid aside, and they would soon make such advances in intelligence and morality, as would contribute no less to the good order and peace of society, than to their own happiness.

Abolitionists are constantly called on for a plan of emancipation. They have little encouragement to respond to the call. If they propose the simple plan of proclaiming by act of the State Legislatures, the immediate and unqualified abolition of slavery, they are denounced as reckless incendiaries. If they intimate, that abolition does

not necessarily inhibit all compulsory labor, and point to the rural code of St. Domingo and the apprentice system of the West-Indies ; they are reproached with wishing to substitute one kind of slavery for another. But, in truth, they are under no obligation of duty or policy to propose any specific plan. No Temperance Society has felt itself bound, because it pronounced the traffick in ardent spirits to be sinful, to furnish venders with plans for employing their capitals in other occupations.

The details of emancipation, and the various legal provisions proper to render it safe and convenient, are not prescribed by the great principles of justice and religion, but by considerations of local policy. It is not probable, that if all the Southern Legislatures were sincerely anxious to abolish slavery, any two of them would do it in precisely the same manner, and under the same regulations. We have seen one plan pursued in St. Domingo, another in Bermuda and Antigua, a third in the other British West-Indies, and still different plans in South America.

Of all these plans, that adopted in Mexico, Bermuda, and Antigua, of immediate, total, and unqualified emancipation, will, there is reason to believe, be found in all cases the most safe and expedient.

This plan removes from the slave all cause for discontent. He is free, and his own master, and he can ask for no more. Yet he is, in fact, for a time, absolutely dependent on his late owner. He can look to no other person for food to eat, clothes to put on, or house to shelter him. His first wish, therefore is, to remain where he is, and he receives as a favor, permission to labor in the service of him whom the day before he regarded as his oppressor. But labor is no longer the badge of his servitude, and the consummation of his misery : it is the evidence of his liberty, for it is *voluntary*. For the first time in his life, he is a party to a contract. He negociates with his late master, and returns to the scene of his former toil, and the scene of his stripes and his tears, with a joyful heart, to labor for HIMSELF. The wages he has agreed to accept, will, in fact, be little more than the value of his maintenance ; for it is not to be expected, that in a treaty with his employer, his diplomacy will gain for him any signal advantages; but still there

will be a charm in the very name of *wages*, which will make the pittance he receives, appear a treasure in his eyes. Thus will the transition from slave to free labor be effected instantaneously, and with scarcely any perceptible interruption of the ordinary pursuits of life. In the course of time, the value of negro labor, like all other vendible commodities, will be regulated by the supply and demand; and justice be done both to the planter and his laborers. The very consciousness, moreover, that justice *is* done to both parties, will remove their mutual suspicions and animosities, and substitute in their place, feelings of kindness and confidence. No white man in Antigua, surrounded as he is by blacks, now dreams of insurrection, or fears the midnight assassin. Can as much be said of our Southern planters?

CHAPTER XI.

Danger of continued Slavery.

While slave holders and Colonizationists delight to expatiate on the danger of immediate emancipation, and to represent its advocates as reckless incendiaries, ready to deluge the country in blood, they seem scarcely conscious that *any danger* is to be apprehended from slavery itself. Yet the whole history of slavery is a history of the struggles of the oppressed to recover their liberty. The Romans had their servile wars, in one of which forty thousand slaves were embodied in arms—Italy ravaged, and Rome herself menaced.

A European writer remarks: "The formidable rebellion of the Jamaica slaves, in 1762, is well known; and in almost every island in the Archipelago, have repeated insurrections broken out; sometimes the result of plans laid with the utmost secrecy, and very widely extended, always accompanied by the horrors of African warfare."

The destruction of property in Jamaica, in the insurrection of 1832, was estimated by the Legislature at

£1,154,583. Any commotion of the emancipated slaves, that should cost the island one-hundredth part of this sum, would be hailed both there and here, as demonstrative of the folly and hazard of emancipation.

And have we not in our own country, had melancholy, heart-rending proofs of the danger of slavery?

In 1712, and 1741, negro insurrections occurred in New-York, and we may judge of the alarm they excited, by the shocking means used to prevent their recurrence. Of the leaders of the last insurrection, thirteen were burned alive, eighteen hung, and eighty transported. In the single State of South-Carolina, there have been no less than seven insurrections designed or executed. In 1711, the House of Assembly complained of certain fugitive slaves, who "keep out armed, and robbing and plundering houses and plantations, and putting the inhabitants of this province in great fear and terror." In 1730, an open rebellion occurred, in which the negroes were actually armed and embodied. In 1739, there were no less than three rebellions, as appears from a petition from the Council and Assembly to the king, in which they complain of an "insurrection of our slaves, in which *many of the inhabitants were murdered in a barbarous and cruel manner;* and that was no sooner quelled, than another projected in Charleston, and a third lately in the very heart of the settlements, but happily discovered time enough to be prevented." In 1816, there was a conspiracy of the slaves in Camden and its vicinity, "the professed design of which was to *murder all the whites and free themselves.*" The conspiracy in Charleston in 1822, and the sacrifice of human life to which it led, are well known. But in no instance, has the danger of slavery been so vividly illustrated, as in the tragedy of Southampton.

A fanatic slave conceived, from some supposed signs in the heavens, or peculiarity in the weather, that he was called by God to destroy the whites. He communicated his commission to five other slaves, who engaged to aid him in executing it. The conspirators agreed to meet at a certain place, on the night of the 21st August, 1831. They assembled at the appointed hour, and the leader, Nat Turner, beheld with surprise, a sixth man, who had not been invited by him to join in the enterprise, but who

had learned from another source, the cause of the meeting; and on inquiring for what purpose he had come, received the remarkable answer: "My life is worth no more than that of others, and my liberty is as dear to me." With these *six* associates, Turner commenced the work of destruction. By sunrise, the number of murderers was swelled to fourteen, and by ten o'clock the same morning, to forty!

From the testimony given on the trial of Turner, and which has been published, it appears, that there was no previous concert, except between Turner and his six original associates, and that no white or free colored man was privy to their design.

The dates we have given of the various insurrections, prove conclusively, that they were in no degree connected with discussions respecting Abolition, and at the time of the Southampton massacre, there was no Anti-Slavery Society in the United States advocating immediate emancipation.

Abolitionists have been often charged with a desire to foment insurrections; but the charge is wholly gratuitous, and no proof whatever of such sublimated wickedness has ever been adduced against them. On the contrary, their characters, professions and conduct repel the calumny. The whole history of Abolition shows, that its only tendency is to ensure peace and safety.

We have brought *facts* to establish the danger of slavery; let us now attend to the confessions of slave holders to the same point. A South-Carolina writer, while urging the necessity of a stricter police over the slaves, thus describes them:

"Let it never be forgotten, that our negroes are truly the Jacobins of the country; that they are the anarchists, and the domestic enemy; THE COMMON ENEMY OF CIVILIZED SOCIETY, AND THE BARBARIANS WHO WOULD, IF THEY COULD, BECOME THE DESTROYERS OF OUR RACE."*

The Southern Religious Telegraph says:

"Hatred to the whites, with the exception in some cases of attachment to the person and family of the master, is nearly universal among the black population. We have then a FOE cherished in our very bosoms—a foe WILLING

* A refutation of the calumnies inculcated against the Southern and Western States,—Charleston, 1822.

TO DRAW OUR LIFE-BLOOD, whenever the opportunity is offered, and, in the mean time, intent on doing us all the mischief in his power."

Now, be it recollected, that these "destroyers of our race," these foes, willing "to draw the life-blood" of the whites, are rapidly advancing to an immense numerical majority. And on what grounds do the whites rest their hope of security from these Jacobins, and anarchists—on equal laws, the diffusion of education, and the influence of religion? Let Governor Haynes of South-Carolina, answer the question.

"A STATE OF MILITARY PREPARATION, must always be with us a state of perfect domestic security. A profound peace, and consequent apathy, may expose us to the danger of domestic insurrection." *Message to the Legislature*, 1833.

Thus, profound peace, which is a blessing to all other people, will be a curse to the slave holders, and they are to hold all that is dear to them by the tenure of *military preparation!*

Is it, we ask, possible, for any nation to have a worse population than that described in the preceding extracts, or to be doomed to a more deplorable fate, than that of perpetual military preparation?

We have now seen, what are the religious and political principles, and what are the historical facts which lead the American Anti-Slavery Society *to recommend* immediate emancipation to their Southern brethren.

But it is demanded, with an air of supercilious triumph, what have Northern men to do with slavery, and what right have they to interfere with the domestic institutions of the South? And is this question addressed to the followers of HIM who commanded his disciples to "go into all the world, and to preach the Gospel to every creature?" As well might it be asked of the Christians of America, what they have to do with the religion of Brahma,—what right they have to interfere to rescue the widow from the burning pile, or the devotee from the wheels of Juggernaut? Christians are no less bound by the injunction to "do good unto all men," to endeavor, by lawful means, to break the fetters of the slave, than to deliver the victim of Pagan

superstition. The obligation is imperative, and they who duly respect its authority, will not be deterred by violence or denunciation from obeying its monitions. The same moral sense which has led Abolitionists to oppose slavery, will, we trust, forever lead them to repudiate in their practice the detestable doctrine, that the end sanctifies the means, and restrain them from doing evil that good may come. The means they employ, except in relation to slavery under the authority of Congress, are wholly confined to *arguments* addressed to the conscience and understanding; and intended only to excite the *voluntary* action of the masters. With them, and with them alone, rests the power of deciding on the course they will pursue. But let them ponder well the consequences to themselves and their posterity, of their momentous decision.

By rejecting Abolition, they reject all the rich and varied blessings in morals, in security, in political power and wealth, which it offers to their acceptance. And what do they retain,—the licentiousness, cruelty, and injustice; the depression of enterprise, the wasting of strength, the fearful forebodings, the hourly jeopardy, the frowns of public opinion, and the reproaches of conscience, which are and must be the inseparable attendants on slavery. Before they refuse to retreat from the volcano on which they are standing, let them look into the terrific crater which yawns beneath them.

If slavery is to be perpetual, it will be well to estimate, not only the number of slaves with which our southern country is to be peopled, but also the ratio they are to bear to their masters. It must be recollected, that all those moral checks on population which arise from morality, the refinements of civilized life, and the difficulty of sustaining a family, are wanting to the slave. Hence there is always a tendency to a far more rapid multiplication in a slave than a free population. Certain circumstances may indeed check this tendency, but experience proves, that in this country, they exist to a very slight exent, if at all. Our slaves are increasing in a constantly accelerated ratio. In the ten years, from 1840 to 1850, judging from the result of the last census, the increase will be 1,049,275, a number greater than all the slaves just liberated in the

West-Indies! The next ten years, a still greater number will be added, and so on indefinitely. In the mean time, new and powerful checks will be operating to retard the progress of the white population. The evils attendant on slavery, will offer strong inducements to the young and indigent to forsake the land of their fathers, and to seek a safer home, and a wider field for enterprise. Virginia affords a striking illustration of this remark. The domestic slave trade annually relieves that State of more than six thousand slaves, and yet, notwithstanding this claim, they continue to increase.

In 1830, the colored population in the counties east of the Blue-ridge, exceeded the white by 81,078, whereas forty years before, in the same counties, the whites had a majority of 25,098!

The number of slaves must at length reach the point of profitable employment, after which, each additional one becomes an incumbrance. Soon after this point is reached, the traffick in slaves must cease, and the owners will be unable to dispose of their superfluous hands. The consequence will be, the gradual impoverishment of the proprietors. As the slaves increase in number, and diminish in value, their masters will gradually become less interested in their welfare, and more apprehensive of their physical strength. Fear is a cruel passion, and especially as it silences the remonstrances of conscience, by the plea of self-preservation. As the danger becomes more pressing, the precautions of the master will become more and more rigorous: every slave being regarded and treated as an enemy, will, in fact, become one, and every increase of cruelty, will but hasten the final catastrophe.

In the mean time, slavery will have ceased in every other part of the civilized world. In Brazil, it will probably receive its death blow, in the first popular revolution. In the Danish Islands, it will expire in two years; and in the French and Spanish colonies, it cannot long survive.*

* The voluntary manumissions in the French colonies from 1st January, 1831, to 1st June, 1833, were 21,952. Since the late Abolition Act of Great Britain, an Anti-Slavery Society has been organized in Paris, with the Duc de Broglie at its head. It is said to have "derived its existence in the very bosom of the Chamber of Deputies."

And when this loathsome leprosy shall cling only to the republicans of our Southern and Western States, in what light will they, must they, be regarded by the rest of the human race? This is an age, in which public opinion has snatched the sceptre from kings and senates, and reigns an imperious and absolute despot. She may indeed be influenced, but not resisted. She called for the abolition of the African slave trade, and the traffickers in human flesh, for centuries encouraged and protected by law, became a proscribed race. She is now calling for the freedom of the slave, and his shackles are falling from him. Emancipation will soon become the common cause of Christendom, as the abolition of the slave trade was a few year since.

In 1822, the House of Representatives requested the President to enter into negociations with the several maratime powers, for the effectual suppression of the slave trade and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, and negociations were accordingly opened on this subject with Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Russia, France, Netherlands, Buenos Ayres, and Colombia.

In 1821, Portugal persisting in the traffick, the British House of Commons called upon the king, to endeavor by negociation, to prevail on the powers of Europe *to exclude from their ports the produce of the Portugese colonies.* Portugal yielded, and the trade has been renounced by every Christian nation in Europe and America. And may not the same, or similar means, be adopted by other nations to put an end to American slavery? It is by no means improbable, that, before many years elapse, laws will be passed, and treaties made, for excluding the products of slave labor from Europe.*

So long ago as 1806, Mr. Windham, in the House of Commons, "did not hesitate to say, that when the proper time arrived and the consent of other powers could be obtained for its abolition, slavery ought not to be suffered to exist among the institutions of any civilized State."

The emperor of Austria has issued a decree, declar-

* A statement has recently been laid before the British Parliament, of the amount of such produce of American slave labor imported into Great Britain, as enters into competition with the productions of the West-Indies.

ing—"Every man, by the right of nature, sanctioned by reason, must be considered a free person. Every slave becomes free from the moment he touches the Austrian soil, or an Austrian ship."

The Edinburgh Review insists, that "the existence of slavery in America, is an atrocious crime, with which no means can be kept."

Mr. Buckingham, member of Parliament, lately asserted at a public meeting:

"The greater proportion of the people of England, demand not merely emancipation, but the immediate emancipation of the slaves, *in whatever quarter of the world they may be found.*"

Daniel O'Connell, shortly before the abolition of slavery in the British dominions, declared in public:

"The West-Indies will be obliged to grant emancipation, and then we will turn to America, and to every part of Europe, and require emancipation."

A Society has just been formed in England, entitled, "the British and Foreign Society for the universal abolition of negro slavery and the slave trade."

Our pride may revolt at the idea of foreign interference, but it will be the interference not of force, but of public opinion, against which our fleets and armies will be of no avail.

We cannot compel other countries to buy our cotton and sugar; or to admit our citizens from the South, when they visit Europe, to the usual courtesies of social intercourse. "When an American comes into society," said Daniel O'Connell, in a numerous assembly, "he will be asked, 'Are you one of the thieves, or are you an honest man? If you are an honest man, then you have given liberty to your slaves; if you are among the thieves, the sooner you take the outside of the house the better.'"

The very coarseness of this invective, in the mouth of the great agitator, indicates the temper of the British populace on this subject; a temper which, fostered as it is by the progress of liberal principles, will, in time, become the temper of all Europe; and, indeed, of all the world. While the slave holders are suffering, without sympathy and without redress, from the harrassing influence of

this temper, their slaves will be multiplying with a fearful rapidity, and becoming each day more conscious of their own strength; and unless their fetters are loosened, they will inevitably be BURST.

Our Southern brethren are the masters of their own destiny: may a gracious God lead them to know the things which belong to their peace, before they be forever hidden from their eyes.

THE END.